

THE



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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—
MILTON.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ART. I.—AHMAD SHAH, ABDALI.	1
„ II.—MISSIONARY LABOUR IN THE EAST. ...	42
„ III.—INDIAN STATISTICS.	
1.—Finance and Revenue Accounts and Miscellaneous Statistics relating to the Finances of British India. Compiled in the Financial Department of the Government of India. Calcutta : Office of Superintendent of Government Printing. 1870.	
2. Report on the Census of Oudh. Compiled by J. Charles Williams, Esq., c.s., Assistant Settlement Officer on special duty. Lucknow. 1869.	
3. Report on the Census of the Punjab. Taken on 10th January 1868. Lahore : Indian Public Opinion Press. 1870.	
4. Annals of Indian Administration in the year 1867-68. From the records issued by the various Indian Governments in 1868-69. Edited by George Smith, LL.D. Vol. XIII. 1869.	63
IV.—TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PERSIAN.	89
„ V.—ARYAN FOLK-LORE.	
1. The Bombay Saturday Review. 1861.	
2. The Bombay Gazette. 1864.	
3. Dasent's Tales from the Norse.	
4. Campbell's Tales of the West Highlands.	
5. Frere's Old Deccan Days.	
6. The Mythology of the Aryan Nations. By George W. Cox, M.A. Late Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford. London : Longmans, Green and Co. 1870.	101
VI.—FRENCH COCHIN-CHINA AND THE EXPLORATION OF THE MEKONG.	
1. Exploration du Mekong. Par M. L.-M. de Carné. Revue des deux Mondes. 1869-70.	
2. Cochin-Chine Française et Royaume de Cambodge. Par M. G. Lemire.	157
„ VII.—PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN ITS PRESENT ASPECT... ..	177
„ VIII.—THE WAHHABIS IN INDIA.—No. II.	

CRITICAL NOTICES—

- Turkistan in the year 1866. Way-side notes, with illustrations in chromo-lithography and on wood. By M. Pashino. St. Petersburg. 1868. ... i
- The Principles and Practical Success of the Competition System : An Argument for its Extension. By Charles McMiner B.A., C.S. 1870. ... vii
- No Actress. A Stage Door-Keeper's Story. By John Daly Fesemeres. London : Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange. 1870. ... ix
- An Account of the late Govindram Mitter, "Naib Zemindar" in Mr. Holwell's days, and of his descendants in Calcutta and Benares. By a Member of the Family. Calcutta. 1869. ... xi

BENGALI LITERATURE—

- Bráhmádiger Pratinibedan. By Bijay Krishna Gosvámi. Dacca Bengali Press ... xii
- Padya Chandrika. By Asvini Kumar Ghose. Calcutta. Stanhope Press. B.E. 1276. ... ib.
- Udiyá svatantra bháshá nahe. By Kánti Chandra Bháttá-chárjya, Pundit of the Government School at Balasore. Calcutta : Giris-vidya-ratna Press. 1870. ... xiii
- Brahma-bidyálay. By Ayodhya Náth Pákadási. Adi Bráhma-Samáj Press. Calcutta : Sakabdá 1791. ... xiv
- Bháratabarshiya Sanátana Dharma Rakshani Sabhár Samvatsarika Bingapani. Calcutta : Sáhitya Press. B.E. 1277. ... ib.
- Kavi-Rahasya. Part I. By Harishchandra Mitra. Dacca : Giris Press. 1870. ... xv
- Chitta-Toshini. By Surya Kumar Sen Gupta. Calcutta, Bengal Superior Press. 1870. ... ib.
- Paramártha-Gyan-Ratnákara. Translated into Bengali by Kesab Chandra Ráy. Calcutta : Kavita-ratnákara Press. Sakabda 1791. ... xvi
- Káminikalanka. By Nobin Káli Debi. Calcutta : Vijayaraj Press. B.E. 1277. ... ib.

ERRATUM.

The concluding passage in Article II on *Missionary Labour in the East*, commencing at the words "In the merest devil-worshipper" down to the end should have been printed as a quotation.

THE
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Nº CI.

ART. I.—AHMAD SHÁH, ABDÁLÍ.

THE LAST MUHAMMADAN INVADER OF INDIA.

THE year 1747 will ever be one of the most memorable in the annals of Asia on account of two events, closely connected with each other, but having for Persia and Afghánistán widely different results. The assassination of Nádír Sháh, whilst it relieved Persia of a tyrant in whom the lust of war had degenerated into a brute ferocity, restored to Afghánistán a body of chiefs who had learnt the soldier's trade in the camp of the great conqueror,—a camp in which they had also acquired a knowledge of the weakness of Persia and India, which convinced them that the time had come to declare the independence of their own country, and to strike a successful blow for its aggrandisement. Persia, deprived of the commanding genius of Nádír, became a prey to intestine convulsions, in which the descendants of her ancient kings, the progeny of Nádír himself, Zends, Arabs, Kurds, Turkmáns, and even Afgháns hurtled together in wild confusion to secure the diadem of Sháh Abbás. India, it was apparent to men who had assisted eight years before at the sack of Delhi, was in no position to revive the claims on Afghánistán she had resigned in Nádír's favour; and, indeed, if they regarded India at all, it was chiefly as a field where they might repeat the achievements of Mahmúd of Ghaznín, and find the reward which Nádír himself had torn from the feeble hands of the Mogul Emperor, his nobles and his people. To Afghánistán, then, the death of the great Persian was the signal for independence, the event which led to the birth of the Afgháns as a nation,—a nation born with the promise of a great career, which one generation saw perish with the life of him in whose hands it had seemed to receive fulfilment.

On the death of Nádír the Afgháns, according to Persian historians, made an attempt, at the instigation of Ahmad Khán Saadozái, to revenge the death of their general, whose policy it had been to attach these wild warriors to his fortunes by his lavish

favours, while keeping them at the same time in a state of the highest efficiency by the exigencies of an iron discipline. The conduct of the Sadozai chief on this occasion is the more remarkable, as Nádir, for some trifling act of military negligence, had subjected him to the loss of an ear. Overmatched by an army as well trained as themselves, and which, ever since the massacre of the garrison of Ispáhán in 1722 by Mír Mahmúd Ghilzí and his deposition of Sháh Sultán Husain, had hated the very name of Afghár with a perfect hatred, the mountain cavaliers had some difficulty in cutting their way through the opposing host, and securing a safe retreat to Kandahár. This famous stronghold had for a year and a half defied even the great Nádir himself, backed though he was by a host of 100,000 men,—a resistance which first taught the conqueror the policy of binding such valiant hearts to his own interests, a policy which resulted in his obtaining from the Afgháns a contingent of 16,000 men, led by the representatives of the noblest houses amongst their tribes.

On reaching Kandahár, the chiefs who led the contingent found that the independence they had resolved to secure had been placed, by the weakness and distractions of the Persian and Mogul monarchies, in their hands, and that the question they had to solve was not how they should obtain their freedom from foreign sovereignty, but what they should do with the liberty that had been thrust upon them. The urgency of the question was certainly not lessened, when the troops of the contingent mutinied against the chief, Núr Muhammad Khán Alizai, to whom Nádir had entrusted the command, and deposed him on the ground that he was not noble enough to be their leader. Like the Israelites in similar circumstances, they saw no way out of the difficulty but the creation of a monarchy under a chief capable of defending their new-born freedom, and of turning the anarchy around them to the advantage of this youngest amongst the nations. But where look for a king? Nádir Sháh had swept away the principality which the Ghilzí chiefs, Mír Mahmúd and Mír Husain had inherited from Mír Wáiz, and which might have served as the nucleus for the new kingdom, although it had never commanded the allegiance of the large and powerful tribe of the Abdálís, or of the northern septs. It thus came about that the chiefs were constrained to proceed to an election, and that every man who thought himself sufficiently noble, or possessed of power sufficient to justify his ambition, placed himself in the ranks of the candidates. Never before had the Afgháns to deal with a question so vital or so stirring, and hence, partly to give their proceedings the sanction of religion, and partly to avoid the broils which, if it were discussed within the walls of Kandahár, would inevitably follow on the debates of so rude and warlike an assembly, it was agreed that

the principal sirdars should repair to the shrine of Shaikh Seurk at Kichk-nookhood, thirty-five miles from the city, and there in the presence of the holy guardian of the Saint's tomb, decide who should undertake the task of governing a nation, the very integral parts of which he would have to compel to obedience, by the might of his sword, rather than by the majesty of his sceptre.

Early in October, then, in the year 1747, a motley crowd gathered round the shrine where the fate of the nation was being discussed. Abdálís and Ghilzís glowered suspiciously at each other, like men who knew that the settlement rested with the formidable knives which each man bore at his girdle, and which were to an Afghán what his hatchet is to a Malay, or his dhao to a Burman. Amongst the crowd were representatives of all the tribes; the stalwart mountaineer of the Sulaimáns contrasted powerfully with the light-hearted Kandahári, or the squat figure and Tartar face of the Hazárah clansmen, whom the receding tide of Tamerlane's conquest had left in possession of the ancient and famous Ghor. The Kizilbásh colony which Nádir had settled in the city of Kábul had also its representatives present, and everywhere through the crowd might be seen the troopers of the contingent, the men who were to form the first army of the new king, drawn together in curious and interested groups by that freemasonry of war which distinguished them from the herd of wild and shaggy clansmen in sheep-skin chogas surging and chafing around them.

Inside the tomb, chief urged his claims against chief, till the place rang with disputations which waxed hotter and fiercer, and threatened to end in an indiscriminate appeal to arms. There was one chief, Háji Jamál Khán,—father of Páyindah Khán, who was father of Dost Muhammad, the father of Amír Sher Ali,—who in addition to his rank as chief of the Barukzaís, had an hereditary claim on the respect and good-will of the Afgháns as the representative of that Muhammad who had been one of the ambassadors to the great Sháh Abbás, when the tribes first felt an aspiration towards freedom. Jamál Khán was the most powerful of the sirdars present at the meeting, and would probably have carried the day by a sufficient number of votes to have secured for him for the possession of a precarious and fiercely contested sovereignty, when the matter was suddenly settled in a way to which even he felt compelled to yield obedience.

Throughout the discussion there had sat apart a young man of twenty-three, a brave soldier, an approved leader and a poet, who, with his turban worn well on one side to hide the loss of the ear of which he had been deprived by Nádir, watched every turn of the wordy fight with more than Afghán patience, and with an insight, which, young as he was, had made him one of the most

influential of the chiefs of the contingent. This was Ahmad Khán Sadozái, the descendant of that Sadu Khán, who had headed the embassy in which Jamál Khán's ancestor had taken part. This gave him high rank amongst the Afghán chieftains ; but, more than this, Ahmad Khán was hereditary chief of the great tribe of Abdálís, of which the Barukzáis were only a sept, and was thus the noblest of Afgháns, as representing that Abdál, legitimate son of Saúf the king, who had founded with his brother Ghiljí, the son of the concubine, the nation itself. Ahmad Khán allowed the discussions to be repeated eight times, until all chance of agreement was placed beyond doubt, and then he, whose reticence had been gained in his earliest youth in the dungeons of Kandahár, to which the jealousy of Mír Husáin Khán Ghilzí had consigned him, took into his counsel the hermit whose retirement had been invaded by the fiery and loud-voiced delegates, and who was thoroughly wearied of discussions which came to nought, and which seemed endless. When therefore the patience of every man was exhausted, the hermit, whose profession and whose office, as guardian and minister of the holy shrine, lent to his words the weight almost of inspiration, stepped forth amidst the contending chiefs, and pointing to the reserved and silent youth, commanded by his attitude and presence immediate silence. Looking round on them in lofty scorn, he cried, "Peace with all this idle talk. Behold the noblest of all the Afgháns, the man with whose lineage none will dare to compare his own, the man whom God himself has therefore created the greatest among you. Woe be to the impious hands who shall destroy the handiwork of heaven !" The manner of his address as well as the man himself held all the chiefs spell-bound, and without giving them time to recover themselves, or discuss the claims of the candidate thus singularly forced upon them, the darwesh rushed from the tomb and returning with a handful of barley from a neighbouring field, he twisted it into a wreath, and placing it on the brows of the stately young chief, saluted him as king of the Afgháns ! The example of the hermit had an effect which was electrical. Jamál Khán hastened to support the new candidate, and when the meeting broke up after a short and hurried debate, Ahmad Khán had received the allegiance of all those present, and had convinced them that if their choice had fallen upon the noblest, it had also fallen upon the worthiest.

Once elected, the new king gave the chiefs but little time to reconsider the result of their conference. A great meeting of representatives of all the tribes was summoned at Kandahár, and there, in the presence of his chiefs and people, Ahmad Khán went through the simple but significant ceremony of an Afghán coronation. Standing before the people, the principal Mullá poured over his

head a measure of wheat, in token that the tribes expected plenty from his sway, and he was launched on that great career which has given him a place amongst the most renowned of the sons of men. Never perhaps in the history of the world did the circumstances of the time offer so fair a field to the ambition of a leader conscious of great talents, and called to the command of a warlike people, only too eager to second him in any enterprise he might undertake. The point at which the new kingdom of the Afgháns had been set up, was that where India and Persia had for ages come into collision; from it, as from a centre, there went out roads to Delhi on the one side, and Ispahán on the other—roads which Afghán armies had trodden as they marched to great triumphs, and along which many a mountain Durward had carried his ready sword and stout heart, to lands where place and power and wealth, nay, even principalities, were the guerdon of unscrupulous valour, the only commodity in which the Afghán traded.

This fact had doubtless an important share in determining the character which Ahmad Sháh from the outset gave to his reign. In other circumstances and with powerful neighbours undistracted by internal anarchy, he might have taken high rank as a patriot king engaged in the arduous task of moulding, under heavy yet valuable pressure, the warlike and jealous tribes of his native land into a compact nation, and in securing and consolidating their independence. But he felt that with no external danger threatening their common weal, the proud and undisciplined minds over whom he had been called to rule, would only too soon resent the election of a youth—he was only twenty-three—to reign over them. Their whole traditions were composed of the struggles of this or that tribe, now against the Safawís, now against the Moguls, and yet they had now, partly from hatred to Persia, partly from a half-formed conviction that under an Afghán king the Afgháns might become mighty, resolved to try the experiment of a monarchy. This conviction had grown up out of the revolt of the Ghilzís against the Persian Viceroy of Kandahár, and had been confirmed by the miraculous success of Mír Mahmúd's attempt to seize the throne of Ispahán. Still it was not Ahmad Sháh well knew, against a yoke which, though self-imposed, was none the less galling from its novelty, and repugnant to all those chiefs, like Núr Muhammad Alízai, whose personal ambition had been thwarted, or whose feelings as tribesmen had been outraged by the election of an Abdáli chieftain.

It was true indeed that Ahmad Sháh, as chief of the Saddozais, was Khán of the whole Abdáli tribe, perhaps the most powerful half of the Afghán nation, and that his birth gave him an hereditary claim to the respect and even veneration of the Afgháns, for among the most singular characteristics of this singular people were the

Ahmad Sháh, Abdálí.

privileges they had conferred on the descendant of Sadú, the chief who by his embassy first obtained for them from the great Sháh Abbás the appointment of an Afghán Kad-Khudá, or head of all the tribes. The Sadozái was exempted from that law of the *vendetta*, which a Pathán cherishes, equally with the Corsican, as the highest of earthly duties, and was regarded, even by the rival Sháh Alam Khail of the Ghilzís, as *primus inter pares*. But, however powerfully the feelings evoked by his hereditary claim, on the gratitude of the nation might have operated to quicken the enthusiasm roused by the words and acts of the holy man, who had, so to speak, surprised the delegates into electing the chief of the Sadozáis, the newly made king knew his countrymen too well to dream of a reign undisturbed by revolts, and he, therefore, at once, and with characteristic boldness and energy, decided to carve out with his sword an Afghán empire, rather than to mould an Afghán principality out of tribes, whose chiefs would make the best of generals for a conqueror, but the worst possible legates of a peaceful king.

How greatly the circumstances of the surrounding states must have tempted him to this career, irrespective of the necessities of his position at home, may be seen at a glance. He was master only of Kandahár, and of the 2,000 or 3,000 trained soldiers who had escaped with him from the Persian camp on the assassination of Nádir Sháh. To the north a Persian governor held Ghaznín; and at Kábul was another officer who had been appointed by Nádir, but who, feeling himself cut off from Ispahán, had resolved to declare for the Emperor of Delhi. In the west, Herát was held firmly for the grandson of the conqueror by Amír Khán, an Arab general of artillery. In the south, only, was he free from apprehensions, and there Nasír Khán, the Belooch chief of Kelát, had acknowledged his suzerainty, and was prepared to render him effectual military service. He had been crowned king, but like the Bruce he had to make good his authority with his sword. Beyond the borders of the hills, however, everything was in favour of a daring chief, able and anxious to turn to account the opportunities thrown in his way by fortune. The conquests of Nádir had swept over half the east with the suddenness and violence of a mountain flood. All that was too small for resistance had been engulfed and swept away, while the nobler edifices remained, but so shattered, so weakened, that they tottered to their fall. In India the Moguls, who had never been the undisputed masters of the peninsula, never recovered from the sack of Delhi. The news of that great calamity went sounding the tale of their weakness through all the land, confirming chiefs, like the Wázír of Oudh and Nizám-ul Mulk, in their usurpations, encouraging

a multitude of petty commanders to assume independence, and converting the growth of the Mahratta power, for a time, into the national cause of the Hindus against their Muhammadan oppressors. Nádir's retreat left the Mahrattas battling for dominion in the Deccan with the Nizám, while further to the south the Viceroy of the Carnatic was independent; and there was a grand medley of war, in which French, English, Mahrattas, and Deccanese, fought and intrigued with unflagging energy, prompted by the most jealous ambition. In Bengal the Viceroy Allahvadí Khán was fast rising into a power. Nearer Delhi the Jats were waiting for an opportunity to extend their infant state of Bhurtpore on the one side, whilst on the other the Rohillas were laying the foundations of the principality of Rampore.

In Persia, Azarbáiján was in the hands of Asad Khán of the Sulaimán Khail clan of the Ghilzís, a brave and capable chief who waited and watched to strike for power as Mír Mahmúd had done. In Mázandarán the Kájars, who subsequently under Aghá Muhammad were to give a new dynasty to this distracted country, had raised the standard of revolt; and in Khorásán only did Mírzá Sháhrukh, the grandson of the conqueror Nádir, find an unstable throne. Even in Bukhárá the bonds of ancient things were loosened, and the king, the descendant of Chingiz Khán, had become a puppet on the hands of the Munguts.

Such being the circumstances of their neighbours, it only wanted, to convert the Afgháns into a powerful state, that a chief should arise amongst them, who would fan into a flame those aspirations after a distinct national life and independence, which had been first suggested to them by the mission of Sadú to Sháh Abbás, and subsequently proved to be glorious possibilities by the career of Mír Wáiz, first prince of Kandahár, and of Mír Mahmúd, Afghán Sháh of Persia. Such a chief was found in Ahmad Sháh, a man in whom the enthusiasm of youth had been sobered by imprisonment and the vicissitudes and responsibilities of a soldier, early called to high command but restrained by the bonds of the sternest discipline; who was thoughtful and far-seeing in planning, but who, in carrying out his plans, exhibited the patience of the most unwavering resolution, with the swift decision of one habituated to watch the changes of a battle and to turn them to account. His election had been a surprise, but his enemies were more than half reconciled to it, because it convinced them of his ability and decision. Then again not one of the ten sirdars who had led the Afghán contingent under the banner of Nádir, had shown so high a capacity for war, or such a disposition to profit by the practical skill of those foreign officers, Frenchmen it is supposed, to whom Nádir owed the organisation of his army and his tactics.

The young king's first measures were dictated by that practical good sense which distinguished his execution of his plans. He formed a court, taking for his model that of Nádir, so constituted, as to reward his own supporters, whilst compromising several of the most lukewarm of the chiefs. Whilst so engaged, fortune brought to Kandahár Yághú Khán Shírází, the collector of customs, appointed by Nádir in the Púnjab and Sind, who was conveying to his master—then no more—a *káfilah* valued at two crores of rupees, say £1,500,000. This Ahmad Sháh appropriated to his own use, not however without some difficulty, for the Abdálís were prompt to pounce on such precious game. The king's conduct reconciled them to the way he had taken their prey from between their teeth. He distributed the whole of the prize so as to make every man in his service, or rather in his interest, participate in the booty. The effect of this politic liberality was to make the king popular throughout southern Afghanistan. His munificence had effectually settled the question of his royalty. The tribes poured their best swordsmen around him, and he was soon in a position to select an army of 12,000 or 15,000 men, which he spent the winter in organizing and training for the task he had resolved to undertake.

It may be well here to notice the change the king made in the name of his tribe. It is said that he gave them the name Durrání in obedience to a dream of a famous saint of Chemkunní. This is, however, clearly an ingenious device to surmount an acknowledged difficulty. The Abdálís claimed a superiority which the other tribes, especially the Ghilzáis, were slow and reluctant to accord, and one sept, that of which the king was himself the hereditary chief, enjoyed the singular but all-important privilege of exemption from the law of the blood-feud. The better class among them had a custom of wearing pearls in their ears, and nothing is more probable than that such an affectation amongst a people of plain and simple habits should have given rise to a contemptuous nickname. Ahmad Shah found the Abdálís called Durránís by the rest of the tribes from this circumstance—*durr* being one of the numerous synonyms for a pearl, and with his usual good policy removed the sting of the appellation by adopting it as the royal designation of the tribe from which the king had sprung. The effect was good; it chimed in well with the king's policy to support the privileges of the Sadozáis, a support which not even devotion to his own interests could induce him to suspend for an instant, and it was speedily followed by the general voice of the nation conferring on the king himself the popular title of *Durr-i-Durráníán*, the pearl of the Durránís, in which the king's merits and favour in the eyes of his subjects, and the fashion of his tribe, were happily hit off together.

With soldiers as anxious to learn as their chief was to instruct them, the Afghán army was soon in a state to commence the task which the king had resolved to achieve, the building up of an empire embracing the whole of the widely scattered Pathán tribes. The year 1748 was but a few days old when Ahmad Sháh left Kandahár on his first campaign. Marching northwards, he speedily reduced the Ghilzís, and made himself master of the important fortress of Ghaznín without a blow, the commandant appointed by Nádír fleeing on the king's approach. At Ghaznín he left a garrison of picked men under a leader devoted to himself, and then turned his face towards Kábul. He was at first, however, threatened with serious opposition; the Persian governor, Nasír Khán, made preparations for an obstinate defence. Ahmad Sháh here first put into practice a policy which he subsequently followed with success, and to which indeed his popularity amongst Afgháns of every tribe was mainly due. He not only professed but showed an unwillingness to proceed to extremities against those whom he declared were his own countrymen and subjects. He thus separated the cause of Nasír Khán from that of the citizens, and then entered into negotiations with the chiefs of the colony of 12,000 families of the Turkish tribes, called from their red head-dress Kízilbáshes, planted by Nádír at Kábul, and won over this warlike community by promising to treat them in every respect like Afgháns. This defection rendered the position of the governor desperate; but he did not yield without another attempt to contest the possession of the Bálá Hisár with the king. He enlisted some Hazárah and Uzbaks, but after a feeble conflict they gave way, and he then fled to Peshawur. The possession of Kábul convinced the nation that in Ahmad Sháh they had found a greater man than either Mír Wáiz, or Mír Mahmúd. The one was content to be prince of Kandahár, the other thought more of foreign conquest than of bringing all Afghánistán under one sceptre. Never before had any native chief since the days of the Ghorians ruled over the country from the Hindú-kush on the north to Kelát on the south. Ahmad Sháh appears to have foreseen and even reckoned on the effect which the capture of Kábul would have upon the tribes, as he took pains to conciliate them to his interests, and to win them to regard him, not so much as a successful Abdálí chief, as the Afghán king, restoring tribes and cities, too long dissevered, to the common nationality. As a natural sequence to this proposition, the king exacted from his officers the most rigid maintenance of internal tranquillity. If he objected to turn his arms against Afgháns, he objected yet more strongly to those feuds and internal combats which seemed to justify the derivation of the word Afghán from the Persian *fighán*—tumult. The idea was as novel to the tribes as it was flattering to their vanity. It attracted the best men

amongst them to the side of the king, and it had the merit of making his kingship more acceptable, by founding it on a principle which every man could recognise and appreciate, and which every man was compelled to approve. In practice it secured for the king a period of probation, and saved him from what might have been fatal to his rise, the task of compelling each tribe in succession to accept his sovereignty at the point of the sword.

Feeling the strength of his position, and fully alive to the benefit of finding a relief from internal distractions by external warfare, the king secured Kábul as he had secured Ghaznín, and then pushed on through the passes to take advantage of the rising of the Peshawur tribes against Nasír Khán. The appearance of Ahmad Sháh's advanced guard debouching from the Khaibar was decisive of the conflict. Nasír Khán fled across the Indus, but was followed by the Afghans, driven out of Attock, and finally made his submission.

At Peshawur Ahmad Sháh speedily won over the tribes to whose aid he had so opportunely arrived, and received from them a valuable addition to his army, an addition which the necessity of leaving garrisons at Ghaznín, Kábul, Peshawur and Attock, made most welcome.

Once across the Indus the Afgháns pushed on for Lahore, and in the campaign that ensued, their youthful general first gave proofs of the soldiership he had learned in the camp of the great Persian king. The governor of Lahore, Hayat-ullah Khán, had learnt with terror that one of Nádir's Afghán generals had suddenly appeared on the scene as a competitor for empire, and had seized on Kábul. Instinctively appreciating this new crisis, he had summoned to his aid the son of the Emperor, Prince Ahmad Sháh, and had lost no time in assembling an army. Two courses were open to him, to await in Lahore, or in a position where he might have covered the city, the arrival of the army which the Wazír of the Empire and the prince were leading from Delhi, when the array of numbers against them would have compelled the Afgháns to what might easily have been converted into a disastrous retreat; or to advance so as to cover the passages of the Chenáb, and hold the enemy in check until, the junction with the Wazír Kamr-ud-dín's corps having been effected, the offensive might be assumed with the combined forces of Delhi and the Punjab. He chose the latter course; Ahmad Sháh, therefore, on reaching the banks of the Chenáb, found himself in presence of the Lahore army; but the swollen state of the river compelled both parties to a truce at which the Afghán king, knowing the aid his opponent expected to receive from Delhi, chafed mightily. He took advantage of the first fall in the river to cross with his cavalry, leaving his infantry in position to

amuse Hayát-ullah, his intention being to make a swoop on Lahore which he hoped to find defenceless. He crossed the river one night at midnight, and was far on his way ere his enemy gleaned intelligence of his movements from the reports of the frightened villagers. Hayát-ullah seems to have lost his head in this emergency, for instead of crossing the Chenáb at the place selected by Ahmad Sháh, and then falling with his whole force on the raw troops composing the Afghán infantry, he took alarm for the safety of Lahore, and calling his own cavalry to arms, set out at the head of that portion of his army in pursuit of his adversary. He came up with the king next day, but the numbers and position of the Afgháns induced him to avoid a conflict, and satisfied with having arrested their advance, he pushed on in the direction of Lahore, and left his infantry to their fate. Ahmad Sháh saw the blunder, and waited patiently until Hayát-ullah's movements could no longer interfere with the new project he had formed whilst watching the manœuvres of the Punjab cavalry, and then, swiftly retracing his steps to the Chenáb, he fell like a thunderbolt on their unprotected infantry, which he cut to pieces. This victory gave him the whole of the artillery, camp, and camp equipage of the Punjábís, and was followed up by the speedy submission of Lahore. Hayát-ullah fled to the camp of the Mogul prince, who, instead of advancing to the rescue of the capital of the Punjab, took post on the Sutlej, although he had just had convincing proof that a river was no barrier against the adventurous enemy with whom he had to deal. The Afghán king deceived the prince and wazír as easily as he had outwitted Hayát-ullah, and out-manœuvring them, crossed the Sutlej, and by one of those marches for which his army soon became famous, flung himself on the reserves of the prince at Sirhind. The plunder of the Mogul camp and train was his reward. Prince Ahmad broke up his camp on the Sutlej and marched after the Afgháns, fearing lest, flushed with success, the king might carry his incursion as far as Delhi. Ahmad Sháh, however, was not the general to leave a strong army on his main line of communications, and he therefore drew out his troops for the great battle which he considered inevitable. The Moguls did not advance to the attack as he expected, but contented themselves with throwing up entrenchments, behind which they awaited with more desperation than valour, the assault of an enemy for whose talents and prowess they had already imbibed a profound respect. For more than a week a furious cannonade raged between the adverse hosts, in the course of which a cannon-ball carried off the Wazír Kamr-ud-dín. The Afghán delivered many charges against the Mogul position, but only to be beaten back with loss, for, Mir Manú, who had succeeded his father Kamr-ud-

Shín, exhibited considerable genius as a commander. Convinced at last that he could not carry the position before him, and convinced too that his army, in spite of its gallantry, was numerically incompetent to the task of making good his hold on India, the king began his retreat, followed up by the Moguls, who thus re-occupied Lahore, of which Mír Manú was appointed governor.

Affairs were in this state when Prince Ahmad was recalled to Delhi by the death of the Emperor, and ascended the throne under the title of Ahmad Sháh, a title known in Indian history as that of the most unfortunate monarch of the Gorgání dynasty. As soon as the Abdálí felt the pursuit relax, he made show of returning to the charge. This menace had the desired effect. Mír Manú, who had done the new Emperor such good service at Sirhind, and who saw himself passed over by his master who offered the post of *Wazír* to Safdar Jang, son of the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh,—made no attempt at resistance and even consented to make over Mooltan and the districts Indus to Ahmad Sháh, and to pay him tribute. Having made, in the course of a few months, the Indus the eastern boundary of his new kingdom, and rendered the Punjab tributary, the Durrání king marched back in triumph to Kandahar, everywhere settling the government of the districts as he went, and leaving behind him, as his representatives, the most capable and attached of his officers.

On reaching Kandahár, the king found himself called on to vindicate the authority of the sovereign against a combination of the chiefs—principally of the Pinjpa section of the Abdálís—at the head of which was the commander-in-chief of Nádir's Afghán contingent, Núr Muhammad Khán Alizai. Ahmad Sháh had sought to bind this chief to his interest, but Núr Muhammad could neither forget nor forgive his being set aside in favour of a mere youth who had served under his orders, coupled, as this supersession was, with the insinuation that his section of the tribe was less noble than the Tarak to which the Sadozais belonged. The king recognised the necessity of making a stern example, and therefore ordered Núr Muhammad and his accomplices to be executed, together with ten men from each of the clans most deeply compromised. The crisis was a grave one, and would probably have overwhelmed any man of less resolution than the king. The sirdars were indignant at what they considered a violent attack on their privileges, and, assembling, debated with great fierceness and warmth the question whether the *lex talionis* should not be applied to the king. The firmness and attitude of Ahmad Sháh carried him through, and the chiefs were compelled to admit that the king possessed by right the power of life and death. Their

decision was doubtless influenced by the singular conduct of the Khaougání and Makooí tribes. These had been admitted to pardon on the ground that they were not of the pure stock of the Abdális, and that therefore they were not so guilty as the others. This imputation on their descent was utterly resented by both tribes. They withdrew from the king's camp and renounced their allegiance, and Ahmad, in order to pacify them, sentenced ten men of each tribe to death, on which, as establishing their right to be considered Abdális, both tribes submitted and sent in their contingents.

The suppression of Núr Muhammad's conspiracy confirmed the king's sovereignty. Hitherto he had been only chief and general, with powers, vast indeed, but vague and undefined; but he emerged from his first domestic conflict clothed with the authority and privileges of an Asiatic monarch, softened only by the necessity he felt of respecting the customs and privileges of his subjects. His success was largely due to the military force of which he was the sole disposer. Aware that a combination of the chiefs, or even discontent amongst the tribesmen, might result in his army leaving their standards and returning to their own homes, he had organised a special force dependent only on himself, and hence called Ghulám-Sháhi. He followed in this respect also the example of Nádir—and recruited the corps from the Tájiks and Kízilbáshes of Kábul, the Yúsufzáis of Peshawur, and from amongst the strangers dwelling in the Afghán cities. This force did him good service; it was the model around which the levies gathered and took form as an army, and its fidelity was as incorruptible as that of the Varangian guard of the Greek emperors. About this time also the king conceived the idea of choosing a new site for the city, and giving it his own name. He subsequently carried out this project, and made the new capital the most regularly laid out city in Asia. He gave it the name of Ahmad Sháhi, without, however, being able to supplant the name it had held for ages, and the title of Ashraf-i-Bilád, the most noble city.

With the spring of 1749 he was again in the field. Flushed with their Indian victories and enriched by the plunder they had shared, his army was impatient to begin a new campaign, though not more impatient than the tribes generally. The government which insisted on all swords being sheathed at home, was bound to find them employment abroad, and this necessity was recognized by the tribes as a chief part of the national policy. Besides, the Afghán kingdom was incomplete so long as Herát and Khorásán were still subject to Persia; and, further, several of the king's relatives, and his son, Sanjar Mírzá, were still captives to the Persians. When, therefore, he again raised the standard of war and avowed the conquest of Khorásán as his

object, he speedily saw his ranks swell, until there were at the lowest estimate 25,000 men ready to march at his bidding. Setting out from Kandahár, he received, as he went along, the contingents of the more westerly of the Abdálí clans, and of some of the Hazárah tribes, and from this cause he is said to have sat down before Herat with an army of 70,000 men. The governor of the city was Amír Khán, the Arab chief who had been general of artillery to Nádir. Herát offered a bitter resistance to the Afgháns for more than a year, in the hope of being relieved by Sháhrukh Mírzá, grandson of Nádir, who, from his capital at Mashhad, ruled over a small kingdom composed of the Khorásán districts. It may here be noted that it was plainly the object of Ahmad Sháh to form an Afghán kingdom, rather than to attempt to secure the throne of Persia. Hence he avoided the more purely Persian province of Kirmán, the first object of the attack of Mír Mahmúd Ghilzí, and directed his efforts to the subjugation of Khorásán. Sháhrukh was unable to save Herát owing to the struggles of Mír A'lam, an Arab, and Ja'far Khán, Kurd, for the office of *wazír*. The general of Shahrokh, Yusuf Khan, was slain, and finally Mír A'lam triumphed. One attempt on his part to relieve Herat was frustrated by the Afgháns, who on this occasion owed the success of the day to the military skill and valour of Nasír Khán Balúch, and this victory left the road to Mashhad open. Ahmad Sháh confided Herát to the government of Darwesh Alí Khán, chief of the neighbouring Hazárah, thus securing for the time the allegiance of an important and warlike tribe, and then laid siege to Mashhad. Failing to take the place, he agreed to retire, on receiving a large subsidy and the freedom of all the Afgháns held by the Persians. He next made an attempt on Nishapur, sending detachments against Sabzwár and Tabbas. Both these divisions failed in their object, and meanwhile the king had suffered himself to be amused by a promise on the part of some of the inhabitants to open the gates of Níshápúr, until he was overtaken by the approach of winter, and threatened by a formidable combination of all the chiefs of Khorásán. His retreat to Herát was most disastrous—indeed it is only paralleled by the more famous winter disaster of Nápoles. The cold was intense; whole divisions melted away; morning after morning the king saw his army dwindle and shrink in the most terrible manner. Their halting places were scenes of horror,—circles of dead men surrounding the failing embers of the fires which had been ineffectual to save them from the fatal cold which pursued them with such deadly vengeance. At one halting place, Káfir Kábeh, 18,000 men are said to have perished; and the passage of the Herat-rood next day, although no enemy thundered on their rear, was almost as fatal to the army as the passage of the Beresina to the French some sixty

years later. One of the chiefs has left a short sketch of this frightful retreat, in which he gravely assures us that between sunset and sunrise he had to disembowel seventeen camels, to keep himself alive by creeping into the hollow of the carcase. Fortunately Herat was near, and here the king led the skeleton of his once splendid army,—an army which in another march or two would have ceased altogether to exist.

The anxiety of the king on account of his army was augmented by his fears of the effect which the news of so terrible a disaster might have upon his rising authority. His knowledge of the character of his countrymen prepared him for an outbreak of treason, or rather for a new attack of the symptoms of disintegration in that body politic which he was building up with such infinite pains and care. He had scarcely time to realise the fact that the shelter of the welcome walls of Herát had saved to him a fragment of his army, ere he discovered that crown and life were both in danger from the haste with which Darwesh Ali Khán Hazárah sought to turn the wreck to account. The king was beforehand with the traitor, and ere the governor could dream that Ahmad Sháh had knowledge of his movements, a party of trusty men had seized him and conveyed him to a dungeon. Taking warning by this occurrence, the king left his son Tinur Mirzá as governor of Herát, and then in spite of the season hurried back to Kandahár. His presence revived the spirits of the people, and he speedily had around him an army on which the disasters of the Nishápúr campaign produced only a fierce desire to succeed where their comrades had failed. Marching at once against Nishápúr, the king who had made each of his soldiers carry a load of iron for the purpose, cast in his trenches an enormous gun, which, it is said, threw a projectile of 472lbs weight. The first shot was also the last. The gun burst; but the ball had done its work,—it tore its dreadful way through walls and houses, and filled the besieged with amazement and horror. That one cannon shot reduced the city, for the inhabitants hastened to surrender at discretion. The governor, Abbás Kulí Khán Biyát, attempted a *sortie*, but in vain. He surrendered also, and was on the subsequent return of the king to Kandahár taken into favour. The king gave him one of his own sisters in marriage, and then, to mark the confidence reposed in him, sent him back to Nishápúr as governor. The king himself, after the reduction of the city, turned back on Mashhad, and as in his former campaign, sent strong columns against Tún and Tabbas and Sabzwár. The latter fell into an ambushade planned by the Kájár chief of Astrábád, and was cut to pieces. The Tún detachment was more successful. The whole country was laid waste, and a terrible revenge taken on the unfortunate inhabitants for the defeat of the previous year. The governor of Tabbas did not stand

idly by while his people were suffering from these atrocities. Gathering a strong force and filled with a stern determination to exact vengeance, he came up with the Afgháns at the village of Kakhak, where he fought one of the most murderous battles recorded in modern history, and paralleled only by that fight at the Katzbach, when the Prussian levies, meeting the veterans of Macdonald during a storm of rain, attacked them with the butts of their muskets, and won the day after a terrible butchery. At Kakhak the Persian army fought to save their dwellings from the flames, their sons from the sword, their women from shame; and the Afghans, to revenge defeat, and to secure the plunder they had gained, by giving full licence to the worst passions of their nature. Once in presence, the two armies exchanged a few wild and ill-aimed volleys, and then, incited by mutual hate and mutual abuse, they dismounted from their horses, drew their swords and mingled in mutual slaughter. The champion of the Persians was the chief of Tabbas, Alí Murád himself, and of the Afgháns, Nasír Khán Balúch. The battle swayed and tossed with the deadliest fury, until Alí Murád fell amidst a crowd of slain enemies, and then his Arab mercenaries fled, and left the Afgháns to rejoice over a victory which if repeated would have been destruction.

At Mashhad, the king, finding himself unable to carry the city, had signed a treaty with Sháhrukh Mírzá, by which that prince accepted the post of governor of Khorásán under Ahmad Sháh, but it was Khorásán shorn of the districts of Turbat Shaikh Ján, Turbathái-daryá, Bakharz and Khaff. Having thus accomplished the object of the war, the king returned to Herát, and here he devoted himself to improving the organization of his army and government. He then divided the troops; one portion returned with him to Kandahár, the other under a favourite general, Beghí Khán, marched into Balkh-Turkistán, and reduced all those provinces between the Oxus and the Hindú-kush, which have of late years been one of the principal theatres of the civil war between the sons of Dost Muhammad. On his return to Kandahár, Beghí Khán was rewarded with the title of Sadri-A'zam. This campaign more than restored the faith of the Afghans in the star of their monarch. They found themselves, as if by the irresistible wave of some mighty enchanter's wand, not only converted from a group of comparatively insignificant and jarring tribes into a nation prosperous at home and powerful abroad, but absolutely elevated into the position of masters of an empire larger than their fathers had ever dreamed of, and composed of the fairest provinces of those great states which had for ages alternately oppressed them. The change was marvellous, the more so that it seemed to possess an element of permanence which all men could appreciate and comprehend. The king seemed anxious butly to embrace within his

conquests those tribes which possessed some affinity either by descent, custom or tradition, with the populations at the centre of his empire, and to be more bent on consolidating an Afghán kingdom than on leading an Afghán tide of war over unstable and unprofitable conquests. His first three campaigns brought under his sway the whole of the regions from the Oxus south to the sea, and from Nishápúr on the west to the Indus on the east, and left him with a convenient claim of tribute and suzerainty over the governor of the Punjab—a claim he was now called on to turn to account. The exaggerated accounts of his disasters in Khorásán had given the governor of the Punjab occasion to indulge in the dream of an independent state, of which he should be the head. In Hindustan the Mahrattas were pressing on the empire from the south, and whilst the Abdálí was far away in the west, the Wazír was engaged in a critical struggle with the Rohillas, against whom he was glad at last to call in the Mahratta chiefs, Sindhia and Holkar, as well as Súraj Mall, chief of the Jats.

Mír Manú speedily found himself overmatched in the field by the army which Ahmad Sháh poured across the Indus to secure the Punjab, and outwitted as well by a prince who was one of the foremost of Asiatic politicians. The Afghán king seized the opportunity of the Emperor's defenceless position to obtain the formal cession of the Punjab and Mooltan, and secured his gains still further by an arrangement under which these provinces were assigned as dower to a Mogul Princess whom he wedded to his son Timur Mírzá. The Wazír and the Mahrattas, though they did not dissemble the chagrin which they felt at what they considered the untoward weakness of the Emperor, had not apparently any stomach for such a task as the recovery of the Punjab, and they therefore turned their arms against the Deccan. Left to himself, Ahmad Sháh annexed Kashmír to his empire, and then returned to Kandahár where he resumed the mighty task of organizing his kingdom, and regularizing and disciplining his army. A rebellion by his own nephew and a rising of the Ghilzís were put down without any great difficulty—in fact the only difficulty arose from the king's publicly declared reluctance to draw the sword against his own countrymen. He himself was Chief Justice as well as Commander-in-Chief, and no man disputed his decisions, which were arrived at with patient care, and delivered with dignity and impartiality. Although he knew the value of state and owed his visitors with the pomp which marked his court, he yet charmed them with his simple manners, and won them by the readiness with which he could be approached. Many of his measures were conceived in obedience to his ruling idea of uniting all the tribes who spoke the Pushtú language.

into one nationality. He excluded daughters from the succession, and ruled that the dower of a childless wife could not on her death be claimed by her family. He abolished divorce, and forbade a master to kill his slave, and amongst other customs he reformed the ceremonial of the court. He would not allow his subjects to prostrate themselves, but ordered them to salute their sovereign by carrying the hand to the forehead, and he balanced this concession by refusing to all except Sayyids and Pírs—holy men—the privilege of sitting in the presence. In all his labours he was assisted by the devotion and sympathy of his council, composed of the chiefs who had been his companions in the army of Nadir.

It was his custom every Thursday evening to invite to dinner a select band of the priests and the learned—he was himself a distinguished Maulaví—and it was at these meetings (which he called *Majlis-i-Ulamá*) that he acquired and maintained that hold over the public professors of religion which ranked them amongst the most devoted and zealous of his supporters. And yet no Musalmán was ever more free from bigotry. He was deeply tinged indeed with the mysticism of the Súffis; but his undoubted piety, and the dignity and honour his countenance conferred on the *Ulamá*, bound them to his side by the strong chains of mutual respect and mutual benefit.

It was about this time that he employed his leisure in the composition of those poems which the research and scholarship of Raverty have made known to European scholars. One of these poems reminds the reader irresistibly of some of Sa'dí's best effusions. There is at the same time a tone about it which allies it as a composition to the penitential psalms.

I cry unto thee, O God ! for I am of my sins and wickedness ashamed ;
But hopeless of thy mercy, no one hath ever from thy threshold departed.
Thy goodness and mercy are boundless, and I am of my evil acts
ashamed :

'Tis hopeless that any good deeds of mine will avail, but thy name I'll
my refuge make.

When I my iniquities review, I say, O that I were but a mere blade of grass !
The lusts of the flesh and the devil are so implanted within me that,
O God ! I can nothing do.

Though I strive to the utmost, there's no escape for me out of the
Devil's evil will :

If it be possible the heart from evil to guard, how shall the eyes be
protected ?

O Ahmad ! seek thou help from the Almighty, but not from pomp and
grandeur's aid.

The sympathies of the man who wrote this must have been eclectic in the best sense of the word; the spirit breathed by the verses belongs to no time and no creed, and to a great extent discovers the secret of that piety which has made the tomb of Ahmad Sháh one of the most sacred of the shrines of Afghanistan.

Ahmad Sháh, Abdálí.

Here is another, taken from Raverty :—

May God annihilate thee, thou fly of human nature,
For no one mouth will have been left unpolluted by thy kiss !
Every wound that may be the place of thy alighting upon
Will for ever be afflicted with the irritation of thine eggs.
Thou deafenest the ears of the whole world with thy din,
Still thy mouth becometh not mute of thy unpleasant buzz.
The whole world through thee hath into mere carrion turned,
Yet sorrowfully and in spite wringest thou still thy hands.
O thoughtless man ! follow not the nature of the fly,
These seeing eyes of thine from their ophthalmia cure ;
Thou art the servant, then do thou the Almighty seek ;
Existence without God, consider utterly valueless and vain ;
Take unto thee implicit faith ; and scepticism's dark house
Thereby shalt thou whiten with the whiteness of its law.
Lowliness and humility are the height of perfection for thee ;
The fiery nature of carnality, from pepper take thou not.
Thine own original element thou wilt again obtain,
When the neck of thy pride thou shalt from the yoke set free.
Seize thou, O Ahmad Sháh ! the good sword of courage,
And the Hindú temptations of the devil expel from thy breast.

As a contrast to these compositions, Raverty supplies the following :

What an hour of bliss it was when we in retirement each other's society
enjoyed !
The beauty of thy face was a bed of roses, and my heart a nightingale
disporting therein.
With the wine of union it was intoxicated ; of the marplot it was free
from dread ;
Compared with the excessive torments of separation, it was bliss—the
meeting of to-day
That was an hour of joy and felicity, when the hand of union over-
shadowed its head.
Why then shared not the heart its yearnings ? show why with sorrow
it was constantly filled.
On whom the beloved her glance directed, the entire world was delight-
ful unto him :
Union with the dear one is God's gift : not that it was brought about
by other means.
Indeed with but one look towards the charmer, even Paradise itself was
forgotten by me.
My beloved was one without simile or resemblance, and her beauty the
rose's excelled.
There are many cypresses within the grove, but in stature my friend, all,
all of them surpassed.
I enjoyed the contemplation of my dear one ; for she than nectar was
sweeter by far to me.
When I would her loveliness behold, how could sun or moon with it
compare ?
For how long shall Ahmad Sháh extol her, when all the world was
occupied with her praise ?

But while the king was thus engaged, the degradation of the
house of Bábar was being completed. Safdar Jang, the Wazir,
on the departure of his Sindhia and Holkar, found his
influence with the Emperor endangered by the affection His

Majesty bore an eunuch. That affection was however fatal to its object ; Safdar Jang invited his rival to a banquet at which he was slain, and then recommended to the Emperor's notice Mír Sáhib-ud-dín, son of that Ghází-ud-dín, the rival of Salábat Jang, who was poisoned at Aurangábád by the mother of Nizám Alí. This young man was able, resolute, ambitious and absolutely unscrupulous. He commenced a career which history has pronounced infamous, by seizing the earliest opportunity of being ungrateful. Taking advantage of his position to acquire an influence over the Emperor, he soon forced matters with Safdar Jang to such a pitch, that for six months the streets of Delhi echoed to the bickerings and disputes of their respective partisans. These tumults wearied out the Wazír, and he retired in disgust to his own province, Oudh, where he renounced the imperial authority, and severed another, and one of the fairest provinces of India, from the crown of the unworthy descendants of Timur. The retirement of Safdar Jang had another effect. His successor in power, though not as yet in name, was obliged to rely upon the Mahrattas, and thus the attitude of the ruler of Oudh may be said to have converted the war with that people into a prolonged and deadly struggle for empire between the Hindús and the Muhammadans. Sáhib-ud-dín received from the Emperor his father's title of Ghází-ud-dín, and speedily found occasion to quarrel with the Jats, against whom he employed the ready arms of Jyapa Sindhia and Mulhar Ráo Holkar. His arrogance had disgusted, as much as his ambition had terrified, the monarch who was trembling for his throne, Ahmad Sháh. The Great Mogul, therefore, endeavoured with a show of his former energy to move an army against both Ghází-ud-dín and his terrible allies, the Mahrattas. Holkar at once broke up his camp, fell upon and dispersed the rabble which the Emperor designated his army, and then weakly permitted the monarch to fall into the hands of Ghází-ud-dín, instead of sending him a prisoner to the Court of the Pesháwá. Ghází-ud-dín was ferocious at the attempt of his master to emancipate himself from the yoke, put out his eyes, and then raised a child to the throne by the title of Alamgír II, and as Safdar Jang died about this time, he assumed for himself the title of Wazír.

He had scarcely assumed in name the power he had long actually wielded, when a portion of the army mutinied, and falling into the hands of the insurgents, he narrowly escaped with his life. The first use he made of his liberty was to take such measures as secured the extermination of the rebels, as he termed them. His next movement brought down upon the empire and the capital a misfortune only paralleled by the sack of Delhi by Nádir. He advanced into the Punjab on the pretext of espousing a daughter of Mír Manú, whose widow

governed the country in the name of Ahmad Sháh Durrání for her son. The regent fell a dupe to his treachery, and was immediately sent a prisoner to Delhi. Adínah Beg who had been the agent of the Wazír in this transaction—a man who is only less reprobated for his treachery and infamy than Gházi-ud-dín himself—replaced her in the government. It was the news of this event which called Ahmad Sháh into the field for the third time as the enemy of the Moguls. His army was in a high state of efficiency, and shared the anger of their king and general at the treachery of the man who had provoked the war. Bursting like a torrent from his mountains, Ahmad Sháh drove Adínah Beg before him, and brushing away the feeble resistance of the Moguls, marched straight upon Delhi. There was no force to withstand the invader, no time to apply to the Mahrattas. Gházi-ud-dín therefore crawled to the feet of the king, made submission, and entreated forgiveness. This was at last purchased for him by the entreaties of the woman he had wronged, the widow of Mír Manú. Delhi fell into the possession of the Afghans, who, inflamed by revenge and their hereditary lust of spoil, sacked the city under circumstances which have left an indelible stain on the glory of their great leader. Despatching Gházi-ud-dín against Nawáb Shujá-ud-daulah of Oudh, the king sent Sirdár Jahán Khán against Súraj Mall and the Jats. At Muttra thousands of pilgrims fell victims to the fanatical rage of his soldiers, and it seemed as if he were bent on heralding his assumption of the sovereignty of India by a series of examples calculated to strike terror into those who would oppose him. His army being unable to withstand the hardships of a campaign during an Indian summer, was so prostrated by sickness as to compel him to postpone his designs on Agra, and the state of Afghanistan requiring his presence, he once more felt himself compelled to retrace his steps. At Delhi he yielded to the solicitations of the Emperor, who prayed to be delivered from his bondage to Gházi-ud-dín, and placed in command of the garrison an able and gallant Rohilla chief, Najíb-ud-daulah, and then, wedding a Mogul princess, he pursued his way to Lahore. His last act before returning to Kandahar was to re-organize the government of the Punjab, which he left in the charge of his son Tímur Mírzá, with Sirdár Jahán Khán as his commander-in-chief and principal adviser.

On his arrival at Kandahár, the king found himself called upon to settle the affairs of the province of Balkh, and also to take measures to protect Khorásán against the ambition of Karím Khán, chief of the Zends, who had succeeded in obtaining a momentary supremacy in Persia, and to whom Asad Khán, the brave and enterprising Ghilzí chief of Azarbáiján, had been reduced.

to make his submission. These two, however, soon found themselves so engaged with the Kájars under Muhammad Husain Khán as to leave them no leisure, and no desire, for conquests from the Afgháns. Asad Khán, however, it would seem, had set on foot an intrigue with the Belúch chief Nasír Khán, which resulted in the most formidable insurrection Ahmad Sháh was ever called upon to suppress. Knowing the character and resources of the man, for whom he had so often and valorously drawn the sword, the Belúch chief, before declaring himself, placed Kelát in a state to resist a siege, and carefully provisioned it. On receiving news of his having declared himself independent, the king sought by every means in his power to effect a reconciliation, and at last wearied out by the obstinacy of the Belúch, sent against him a division of the army. Nasír Khán was almost as good a soldier as Ahmad himself. He did not wait to be attacked, but, assuming the initiative, fell upon the Afgháns at Pringuez on the frontiers of his principality, and inflicted on them so severe a defeat as at once forced the king to take the field in person, to prevent its having political effects which might be fatal to the peace of the kingdom. Rallying the fugitives as he went, the king in his turn assailed Nasír Khán in his camp at a place called Mestuk, and drove him for refuge to the walls of Kelát. Several assaults on this place failed through the disinclination for the war felt by the principal Afghán Sirdars, and perceiving this, Ahmad Sháh called off his troops and negotiated a treaty, by which the Belúch chief acknowledged his supremacy, and had imposed upon him the single obligation of furnishing a contingent, whenever the Afghan king made war beyond the frontiers of his kingdom. More than ever anxious to bind Nasír Khán to his interests, the king took to wife a cousin of the chief, and then hurried back to Kandahár to prepare for a final and decisive struggle for the possession of his Indian dominions—a struggle in which he now sought to find allies in India itself. He sent messengers to the Rohilla chiefs and to the Nawáb of Oudh, and laboured to make them realise the conviction forced upon his own mind, that the great fight before them would be a battle of the Muslim against the Hindú, a fight of races and of religions, such as had not been known since the days when Mahmúd of Ghaznín laid the foundations of the Muhammadan power by the annexation of the Punjab. To understand the real character of the crisis which was approaching, it is necessary to take up again the thread of affairs at Delhi. Gházi-ud-dín, as soon as the Durrání king was fairly out of the way, called in as usual the aid of the Mahrattas under Raghunáth Ráo, or Raghoba, the brother of the Peshwa, and expelled Najib-ud-daulah from Delhi. Duttají Sindhiá then fell on the Rohillas, whose country the Mahratta governor of Bundelcund, Govind

Punt, surnamed from his government, Bondela, over-ran with fire and sword, the inhabitants fleeing in crowds to the shelter of the Kumáon hills. The Punt was however attacked by Nawáb Shujá-ud-daulah, who had advanced from Lucknow, to the assistance of the Rohillas, and forced to retire in confusion across the Ganges. The Wálí of Oudh was moved to this action, not by any love he felt for his co-religionists, but because the destruction of the Rohillas would turn the whole tide of Mahratta war, guided by the hate and malice of the Wazír, on the fertile provinces under his own rule. The defeat of Govind Punt led to a sworn peace amongst the contending parties, a peace which no one meant to keep, and which was in fact a truce depending on the movements of the Afghán king.

Adínah Beg had been employed by Sirdár Jahán Khán, minister of Timur Mírzá, at Lahore, but, suspecting treachery, had retired to the hills, where he gathered round him a body of Sikhs and raised the standard of revolt. Satisfied of his inability to resist the power of the Abdálí governor, he sent a messenger to Delhi inviting Raghunáth Ráo, the Mahratta chief, to undertake the conquest of the Punjab. To this proposal Raghoba lent a greedy ear, and his willingness was not lessened by the insidious counsel of Gházi-ud-dín, the Wazír. He broke up his camp at Delhi, and marching northwards defeated the Afgháns, and speedily over-ran the whole country east of the Indus. Sirdár Jahán Khán fled with such precipitation, that although he saved the prince, his own family fell into the hands of the enemy.

It was to repair these disasters that Ahmad Sháh turned back to Kandahár, after refraining from pushing to extremities the Belúch prince. Months passed in gathering together an army of about 50,000 men, and in arranging the internal affairs of the kingdom upon a satisfactory basis, and hence it was not till the end of 1759 that the Afghán king's advanced guard crossed the Indus, and marched southward along the Jamú road to Lahore. Gházi-ud-dín at once comprehended the character of the conflict his intrigues had brought about, and on an accusation of corresponding with the Afgháns, seized the puppet Emperor and put him to death. He then raised another grandson of Aurangzeb to the throne with the title of Sháh Jahán, and having done all the mischief he could, sought that asylum with the Jats which their chief Súraj Mall was generous enough to afford. The true heir of the empire, Prince Alí Gauhar, afterwards known as Sháh Alam, finding his overtures declined by both Rohillas and Mahrattas, retired to Behar. Here he engaged in a partisan warfare which brought him into collision with the English, who had received commissions, with Mír Ja'far, from Gházi-ud-dín to act against him.

Ahmad Sháh pushed on with his usual impetuosity, and made himself master of Lahore before the corps of Holkar and Duttají Sindhia could advance to its rescue. He had two objects in view. He wished to effect a junction with Najíb-ud-daulah and the Rohillas, and at the same time inflict a heavy blow on the Mahrattas. He therefore strongly re-enforced his advanced guard which he pushed against Sindhia, whilst with the main army he crossed the Jumna at Sahárunpúr, and was there joined by the Rohillas. The Mahrattas, thoroughly deceived by his manœuvres, retired slowly on Delhi, skirmishing with what they considered the main body of the Durrání army. At Badlí they made a stand in the hope of being joined by Holkar; but this chief was fruitlessly engaged in persuading the Jats to take the field, and left Duttají's division to its fate. Recrossing the Jumna, Ahmad Sháh fell with his whole force on the flank of the Mahrattas. The battle was a mere butchery; scarce one-third of Duttají's troops escaped, and that leader and his brother Joteba were amongst the slain. The immediate consequence of this victory was the re-occupation of Delhi by the Afgháns.

Holkar, convinced when too late of the preciousness of the time he had wasted, and of the formidable character of the foe with whom the Mahrattas had now to contend, hurried off to the south, and the Afgháns, sallying forth from Delhi, over-ran the Doáb. The Mahratta general was however true to the plundering instincts of his nation,—an instinct which was as strong in them as in the wildest of the warriors gathered round the Afghán king—and hearing of a convoy for the king's camp under Ahmad Khán Bangash, he suddenly turned in his retreat and surprised and took or destroyed the train. This compelled him to change the line of his retreat and to pass too near the Afghán army. With any other foe he might have escaped, but Ahmad Sháh was bent on losing no chance of dealing a blow at the daring enemy, who had ventured to conquer the Punjab and to plant a Hindu standard on the banks of the Indus; not only because of the effect which success would have on his soldiers, but because of the effect a victory might have in attaching to his interests the native chiefs with whom he had opened negotiations. He therefore detached from the main army a powerful body of cavalry, which, by one of the most extraordinary marches on record, overtook Holkar at Secundra to the south of the Chambal, surprised his army, and scattered it with a slaughter only less terrible than that which had overtaken the unfortunate Duttají Sindhia.

The Peshwá heard of these reverses as he was returning from a successful campaign against Salábat Jang and Nízám Alí, which had at length given the Mahrattas the supremacy they had long coveted in the Deccan, together with territory yielding an annual

revenue of 65 lakhs of rupees. Ahmad Sháh having over-run the Doáb, and left a garrison at Delhi, himself with the main body of his army took post at Anúpshahr, where he decided to canton his army during the rains. In the Mahratta camp anger and annoyance reigned supreme, and whilst they cast all the strength of the confederacy into the game to which the Peshwá was now challenged, they, at the very crisis of the war, deprived the Mahrattas of those military tactics which had given them so many victories, and what warlike skill which could alone have converted a doubtful conflict into a glorious and decisive victory. Sheodasheo Ráo, the cousin of the Peshwá, called the Bháo, who had succeeded Raghunáth Ráo in the command of the Mahratta armies, a command which Raghunáth had thrown up in disgust on being taxed with having expended 80 lakhs in the conquest of the Punjab, instead of as usual bringing a substantial contribution from his conquests to the Peshwá's treasury, was selected for the task of driving the Afghans beyond Attock, and with him went the Peishwá's eldest son, Wiswás Ráo. From the army of the Deccan, flushed as it was with success, were detached 20,000 picked horsemen under the flower of the old Mahratta families, and a body of 10,000 infantry and artillery, trained and disciplined in the French fashion and commanded by Ibráhím Khán Gardí, an able officer trained in the wars of M. Bussy. This division of the Bháo's army was probably the finest and most formidable body of native troops at that time in India. Messages were also sent to all the Mahratta chiefs to join the commander-in-chief and the Prince, as they marched northwards for what, in the opinion of the whole of Maharasthra, was regarded as an expedition for the final conquest and annexation of Hindustan, and the replacement of the Mogul by a Brahman dynasty. The army was lavishly equipped—perhaps indeed no army in the whole range of Indian history was ever so splendidly appointed, or manifested so much of the extravagance of wealth. In the army chest of the Bháo there was besides two crores of rupees.

As the contingents of the different chiefs flowed in from all quarters, the immense mass resembled more and more a nation bent on some heroic pilgrimage, rather than an army going up to battle with a warrior whose sword was yet reeking with the blood of their best and bravest. By the time he reached the theatre of war, Sheodasheo Ráo had been strengthened by the armies of Holkar, Jankají Sindhia, the Gaekwar, Govind Punt, Bondela, and a host of minor chiefs. The terrified Rajput princes also joined the camp, and finally Súraj Mall marched in with 30,000 Jats at his back, a force in itself sufficient to have turned the scale if it had been in the hands of a general, or if its leader had been left to his own devices. Reckoning the Pindáris, the whole force could not have numbered at the moment when operations began

less than 300,000 men, of whom there were at least 100,000 choice troops under such leaders as Ibráhm Khán Gardí, Mulhar Ráo, Holkar, Govind Punt, Jankají Sindhia, and the wise and experienced Súraí Mall. Of these 100,000, again, fully three-fourths were cavalry, and this fact, together with the multitude of Pindáris, would have suggested to any one but a man with so little aptitude for warfare as the Bháo, that the Afghán king should be held to his cantonment, but without asking an engagement, whilst the cavalry and Pindáris destroyed his communications and wasted the districts upon which he depended for his supplies. If this course had been adopted, the Nawáb of Lucknow would have abandoned what was a distasteful negotiation and alliance; and the Abdáls, against whom the Sikhs would have gladly taken the field, weakened and disheartened by want and privations, would probably, nay certainly, have foundered, or been swallowed up and destroyed in a wild and endless sea of enemies. The Mahrattas swept over the country south of the Jumna, leaving behind them a land wasted as if by a swarm of locusts. Their general haughtily rejected the advice of the Jat chief, that the army should be equipped for the fight, the women and the children placed in safety in the strong fortresses of Gwalior, Jhansí, or even in Deeg and Bhurtpur, and the enemy engaged in a war of ceaseless skirmishes. Sheodasheo Bháo had seen in the Deccan campaign the troops of Salábat Jang melt away under the skilfully worked artillery of Ibráhm Khán Gardí, and the regular and sustained attacks of his infantry, and believing that he possessed a means of bringing the war to a triumphant close whenever he chose to do so, he decided to seize Delhi, and so to occupy all lines of retreat as to render the escape of the Afgháns impossible. He therefore poured the huge waves of his host on Delhi, which was captured after a brief defence, and then set himself to play the game of his adversary so well that the wisest amongst his generals saw with dismay the fatal ending which was in store for the army. Twice had Holkar been in possession of Delhi and the Emperor's person, and twice had he refrained from putting an end to the Mogul dynasty; but Sheodasheo Ráo conceived the idea of placing Wiswás Ráo on the throne, with Shujá-ud-daulah of Oudh as Wazír. It was hoped that the offer of this bribe would convince the Nawáb of the friendliness with which he was regarded in the Mahratta camp, and induce him to abandon his alliance with Ahmad Sháh. The king resolved to profit to the utmost by the heterogeneous composition of the force arrayed against him, and by skilfully chosen agents to foment divisions amongst the chiefs. His emissaries failed not to make the most of the attempt to proclaim Wiswás Ráo Emperor, and to stir up the indignation and fears of the Rajputs and Jats at the ambition and greed of

the Mahratta general. The Bháo under the pretence that he required funds,—his own military chest contained two crores of rupees, and the other chiefs had furnished him with three crores more,—stripped the imperial audience-chamber of its bullion ornaments, and more than ever resisted the counsel of the experienced soldiers about him. Ahmad Sháh's agents so turned all these blunders to account that Súraj Mall withdrew with his Jats, and one by one, on various pretexts, the Rajput princes retired to their own states. At length the monsoon set in, and left the two armies cantoned, the one at Anúpshahr, the other at Delhi, and their leaders engaged in a long and insincere negotiation.

As soon as the season opened, Sheodasheo Ráo nominated a son of Sháh Alam—absent in Bengal, where he was preparing to attack Patna—to the throne, and then, resuming his original plan, attacked and reduced Kunjpúra, a strongly fortified Afghán post, some sixty miles north of Delhi. Ahmad Sháh was desirous of saving this place, but the swollen state of the Jumna prevented his crossing, and when he had discovered a ford, Kunjpúra had fallen. He had crossed the whole of his army by the 25th October, and next day fought an indecisive action with the enemy, who had hurried up to oppose his passage of the river. The Mahrattas, still divided in their councils, retired to Pánípat where they strongly entrenched themselves, and were followed by Ahmad Sháh who protected his camp with an *abattis* of felled trees. The Peshwá was meanwhile growing more and more alarmed about the course of events in Hindustan, and advanced slowly first to the Godavery, and thence in December to the Nerbudda, where Janojí Bhonslay joined him with a division of 10,000 men. The armies in presence at Pánípat, not counting irregulars, are given at 38,000 footmen, with 41,000 cavalry and 70 guns, for the Afgháns, and 15,000 foot, with 55,000 cavalry and 200 guns, for the Mahrattas.

Strange to say, both sides continued their negotiations, although both must have known perfectly well that nothing but the sword could decide the dispute between them. Sheodasheo Ráo speedily felt himself straitened for supplies, and at last consented to act against the resources of his enemy. Govind Punt Bondela was detached for this purpose, but Ahmad Sháh, seeing that the task had been committed to a force too weak to effect it properly, detached in his turn Atái Khán with orders to pursue the Bondela unremittingly, and, if possible, to destroy him. Govind Punt was over-taken, surprised and slain, and this misfortune for the Mahrattas was almost immediately followed up by another. A convoy with a supply of treasure for their camp marched (so careless was Sheodasheo Ráo of his communications) into the camp of the Abdálís, and was of course cut off to a man. To remedy the loss, the Bháo called for contributions from the Rajputs, and these

princes with Súraj Máll sent into the camp a considerable sum of money, which was however insufficient to prevent the clamouring of the troops for their pay. The Gardí battalions were especially exacting. Towards the end of November the daily routine of duels between the champions of either army was varied by a fierce and successful attack by Holkar on the left of the Afghán camp. On 23rd December there was another tumultuous and sanguinary contest, in which the Mahrattas lost the advantage, in consequence of the desire of their leader to retire with the body of his dewan, ~~Rází~~ Ráo. Fights were of daily occurrence, and it was only the stern patience of Ahmad Sháh which prevented their developing into a general action. Both armies suffered great privations; the Mahrattas were however the most tried, the wasteful habits of their soldiers and the imprudence of their generals enabling the king, although with more slender means, to provide by comparison more effectually for his army. The Nawáb of Oudh and the Rohilla chiefs pressed the Sháh again and again to end the war by a great battle, but to all these remonstrances and entreaties he made but one reply:—"This is my affair, for this is war. In other matters I will hearken to you, but this must be left to me!" Daily he visited the posts of his army, and daily reconnoitred those of the enemy. He seemed to pass his time wholly on horseback, and his watchfulness and activity gained for him the confidence of his soldiers, although it could not prevent them from chafing at the unheard-of style of his warfare. Day by day, however, the pressure of want bent more cruelly the spirit of the Mahrattas. They dared not retreat, for the peasantry was against them, and with such an enemy on their rear, escape would be impossible. There was nothing for it at last, but to choose between dying sword in hand amid the ranks of their foes or perishing of starvation in their camp. On 6th January 1761 the chiefs, driven by the despair of their men, went in a body to Sheodasheo Ráo, and declared that the endurance of the army was exhausted, and he gave his consent that on the next day the long and bitter struggle should cease, and the result be left to the God of Battles. He did not encourage his generals, nor did they enhearten their soldiers. Like men preparing for some stern sacrifice, the Mahrattas made them ready for the battle. Their resolve to fight bravely was the resolve of men filled with a despairing desire to sell their lives dearly. All the food-stuff in the camp was served out, and the army eat one full meal, and then the men anointed their faces and hands with turmeric, as do those about to die. The Afghán camp on the contrary was buried in profound repose, trusting in the vigilance of the corps of 5,000 horse, which the king pushed far to the front every night, in order to keep a strict watch against so fatal a contingency as a surprise.

Having issued his instructions for the great battle of the morrow, the Bháo sent for Holkar, a chief whose courage could not be called in question, and confided to him his wife and the families of the principal chiefs, with instructions, if the battle went against the Mahrattas, to draw off his division and save his charge. Whilst thus providing for the consequences of defeat, the Bháo manifested his ignorance of war by omitting to fix a rallying point in case of the worst, or designating any line of retreat. True, the Mahratta system left a rude latitude to the individual leaders of divisions, but staking, as the Bháo staked, the whole prospects of the nation on the result of one gigantic combat, he might have done more wisely than have the way for what would appear to be a defection in the crisis of the fight on the part of one of the most powerful and most warlike of the Hindu chiefs, one whose name in fact carried decisive weight with the army. Súraj Mall had at the outset of the campaign proposed to arrange for the safety of the women and children, and had since then proved his readiness to do everything but share in the blunders and misfortunes of his allies. Had the Bháo's wife and the families of the chiefs been sent under a strong escort to the Jat chief, the army would have been encouraged by the evident intention of their generals to make a desperate struggle for victory, and to share all the perils of the fight; or, if the Bháo considered defeat so certain, he might have warned the gallant men whom he had brought to such a pass, to rally on the Jat principality in case of defeat, and there await the arrival of the Deccan army under the Peshwá himself. But no! dreaming only of a wild and desperate conflict ending in ruin, he provided, as we have seen, for his wife and the families of the principal officers, and then took up the thread of the languishing negotiation carried on with Shujá-ud-daulah, to whom he wrote with his own hand:—

"The cup is now full to the brim and cannot hold another drop. If anything can be done, do it, or else answer me plainly 'at once: hereafter there will be no time for writing or speaking!'"

This message, breathing only despair, could have effected nothing. Ahmad Sháh would only have seen in it an announcement that his prey was within the toils, and would have prepared himself accordingly. Fortune however saved the Mahrattas from rushing on an army already marshalled, and so gave them one last chance of which the Bháo himself was destined to rob them. There is scarcely in the whole range of history so striking or sad a picture as that of the Bháo on the night before the great battle of 7th January 1761. Sitting silent and lonely in his royally appointed tent, the Mahratta commander—a man in the prime

of life, who had abandoned on account of family disputes his own legitimate career as a statesman to tempt fortune as a warrior—realised to the fullest extent the nature of the calamity involved in a defeat which he had come to regard as inevitable. He had guided with a master's hand the concerns of the Mahratta state, and he knew better than any one else the vital character and unspeakable value of the interests at stake. He sat silent and calm, conscious of the strait to which the army was reduced, and conscious, too, that his own incompetence as a leader was the fruitful source from which the misfortunes of the host had sprung; and yet he was too proud to yield an atom of his state, and too proud to invite, even at this supreme moment, the counsels he had spurned, or to seek in the wisdom and experience of his chiefs that deliverance he was himself unable to accomplish. He prepared with deliberate despair to endeavour himself to influence the enemy to grant them any terms, and wrapped in his bitter thoughts and yet more bitter pride, sat, silent and lonely, waiting for an answer that never came, while outside the tent two hundred thousand men eat their last meal and prepared themselves to die.

It was almost dawn ere a hurkara gave the letter to Shujá-ud-daulah, who rose in haste, for messengers came in at the same time from the outposts with the news that the Mahrattas' artillery in front had left their entrenchments and were come out to do battle. The Nawáb hurried to the king with his news, and Ahmad Sháh at once mounted and rode off to reconnoitre, and as he went, he roused the camp, and gave orders for the marshalling of his soldiers. He advanced about a mile in front of his camp, and was met by some plunderers who reported they had been within the enemy's lines—a reply which caused the king a momentary doubt. But just then the Mahrattas, having caught sight of the group of horsemen, saluted them with a discharge of cannon. The king, who was smoking a Persian *kalyán*, gave it to his servant, and then turned to the Nawáb with the remark, "Your servant's news is very true, I see"—and then he watched the Mahrattas take up their line of battle. On the left was Ibráhím Khán Gardí with his corps, forming nearly the bulk of their infantry and the flower of their artillery; then came, in order Dammají Gaekwar, Wittul Sheodeo, with Sheodasheo Ráo and Wiswás Ráo in the centre in rear of the great Bhagwán Jenda—the Mahratta Oriflamme; then came Jaswant Ráo Powar, Shamsheer Bahádur, Mulhar Ráo Holkar, and the extreme right was formed of the troops of Jankají Sindhia. Their artillery was in front of the line, with the *shuturnáls* (camel guns) and rockets. The soldiers had loosened the ends of their turbans, and, whilst bent on doing their duty bravely, were convinced beforehand that the victory which could alone preserve them was almost hope-

less. Over against them Ahmad Sháh drew up his army. The extreme left was composed of a choice body of Afgháns under Sháh Pasand Khán; then came Najíb-ud-daulah and his Rohillas, and then the troops of Oudh. The centre was formed of the troops of the Wazír, Sháh Walí Khán, and half the corps of Ghuláms. The right was composed of the soldiers of Ahmad Khán Bangash, the Rohillas under Háfiz Rahmat Khán and Dundhia Khán, leaders of approved valour, and the *dastaks* of Amír Beg and Barkhurdár Khán. It will thus be seen that the Mahrattas had no reserve, while Ahmad Sháh kept under his own command one-half of the veteran Ghuláms as a reserve, to be used as Napoleon afterwards used the Consular Guard at Marengo. Sindhia and Holkar were opposed to Sháh Pasand Khán and Najíb-ud-daulah; Shujá-ud-daulah to the right centre of the Mahrattas under Shamsher Bahádur and Jaswant Ráo Powar. The Bháo and the son of the Peshwá were confronted by Sháh Walí Khán. Ahmad Khán Bangash opposed Wittul Sheodeo, and then the bravest of the Rohillas, supported by the contingents of Amír Beg and Barkhurdár Khán, confronted the trained legions of Ibráhím Khán and the tried cavalry of the Gaekwar. This arrangement of the Mahrattas was inherently vicious. Their best artillery and choicest infantry ought to have been in the centre, where their absence in the crisis of the battle gave the Afgháns time not only to bring up their reserves, but to rally. At the centre, too, their weight would have compelled the whole Afghán line to retire, to avoid being cut in two, and this operation would probably have resulted in their defeat, for there is nothing so difficult for any troops as the taking up of a new position in action and under fire. The Afgháns, too, must have attempted this movement in the face of myriads of horsemen waiting only an opportunity to charge home. Again, although the Mahrattas had two hundred pieces of cannon against the seventy of the Afgháns, they manifested only too fatal an eagerness to abandon this superiority, and to give up an advantage sufficient in itself to have turned the scale in their favour. Filled with despair, and with their turbans loosened, they thought only of coming to close quarters, and of fighting on terms where the weight and strength of the northern race must of necessity tell with fatal effect.

Each army was possessed with a rage to fly at the throat of its adversary. The Mahrattas were filled with despairing wrath; the Muhammadans with fanaticism and the anger which a series of indecisive skirmishes had provoked, and the iron patience of the king had fostered. The armies once arrayed, a fierce cannonade opened the fight, and its effects soon showed themselves in the irrestrainable exasperation of both hosts. They surged forward, masking the opposing guns, and mingled in a chaos of slaughter, where, wrapped

in a vast storm of dust raised by the thousands of eager combatants, the tide of war could only be traced by the swell of the shrill "Hari! Hari!—Mahádeo! Mahádeo!" of the Mahrattas, or the deeper shout of "Alláh! Alláh!—Dín! Dín!" of the Muslims. A splendid charge of the Mahratta centre was met by the 10,000 horse under Sháh Walí Khán ~~starting~~—a mistake like that of the Russian cavalry at Balaclava—and in an instant Ahmad Sháh's centre was broken and thrown into the wildest confusion. The Wazír in an ecstasy of rage and valour dismounted and fought on foot, a sign he meant to die where he stood, and endeavoured to rally the Populzai clansmen by asking them "whither they could flee!" By almost superhuman exertions, the Wazír, assisted by Shujá-ud-daulah, maintained the conflict. On the left Najíb-ud-daulah was more fortunate; the Mahratta right, guided by Holkar, who was hampered by the charge laid on him by the Bháo, did not press the charge with the eagerness and fury of the battle at the centre. On the right, however, Ibráhím Khán Gardí assailed the Rohillas with terrible vigour. Throwing back two of his battalions from their right, to prevent a flank attack from the Afghán cavalry, he precipitated himself on Háfiz Rahmat with a resolution which nothing could withstand, and after some of the most desperate fighting, in which he was wounded and lost more than 5000, and the Rohillas more than 8000 men, his efforts, seconded by the Gackwar's horse, were successful, and the right wing of the king's army was broken. At noon the Mahrattas then were successful on their left and were pressing their advantage at the centre to a success also. At this moment Ahmad Sháh scoured his camp and drove all the fugitives into the fight, and then hurried with the reserve to the aid of his hard pressed centre. The centre of the Mahrattas had in the ardour of the engagement outmarched their right, and taking advantage of this error, the king hurled 10,000 horsemen in successive charges at the centre of his enemy, and at the same time caused a division of Rohillas and of his Oudh allies to assist these charges by a simultaneous attack on the exposed flank of the Bháo's division. These manœuvres renewed the fight, which raged more fiercely than ever. The Mahrattas performed miracles of valour, and the fate of the day was suspended by the stubbornly gallant resistance they opposed to charge after charge of the choicest of the Afghan troops. Up to two o'clock a well directed attack from the horsemen of Sindhia and Holkar would have given a Mahratta Emperor to Hindustan, but the fight languished on the right, and in the wild medley of carnage at the centre Wiswás Ráo, the son of the Peshwá, fell stricken to the death. Instead of hounding on his soldiers to revenge their Prince, the Bháo descended from his elephant, and sent a message to Holkar to "do as he had been directed." He then galloped from

the field, and was immediately followed by Holkar. The Afghán army, almost overborne in the struggle, where, at last, every man seemed fighting to revenge his own private quarrel, suddenly felt the deadly grip of the Mahrattas release, and then almost before Ahmad Sháh could realise his good fortune, the array of his enemy dissolved, and the Mahrattas were scattered in dismay and terror over the wide surface of the country. The headlong charge was converted into a breathless pursuit. Pánípat was surrounded by the victors, who pressed hardly on the Gaekwás and Holkar, and those chiefs had the utmost difficulty in preserving a remnant of the splendid army which had marched into Hindustan so confident of victory. They did, however, succeed in saving parts of their own divisions and the garrison of Delhi, but the bulk of the fugitives were destroyed by the Afgháns, or the fiercer and wild tribes of Gújars and Mínás, through whose lands they hurried in the hope of escaping the swords of their conquerors. Never were omens of defeat so nearly falsified or so terribly fulfilled. The Mahratta host was destroyed. Eight years passed before they again crossed the Chambal in force. But it may be doubted if they ever recovered from the terrible blow dealt them by Ahmad Sháh. The destruction of their finest army dislocated the confederacy, and although they were still formidable, they lacked that unity which sent the great army into Hindustan under Sheodasheo Ráo, and kept it together in despite of his incompetence and haughtiness. The fate of the Bhao was uncertain; a headless trunk was found some distance from the field, and declared by some to be the corpse of the general. Jaswant Ráo Powar was killed in the fight. Jankají Sindhia and Ibráhím Khán Gardí were both wounded and taken prisoners. Jankají was sacrificed to the hatred of the Rohillas, and the brave Ibráhím Khán to the fanaticism of the Muhammadans, who clamoured for the life of a Muslim general, who had fought with unbelievers against the faithful and almost robbed them of the victory. The Afgháns were intoxicated with blood. They found the body of Wiswás Ráo, and declared they would have it stuffed and take it back with them to Kábul, and it was with difficulty the king, supported by Najíb-ud-daulah and Shujá-ud-daulah, persuaded them to allow of the body being consigned to the funeral pyre. Ahmad Sháh, however, permitted them to blacken his reputation by the destruction of the prisoners taken in the village of Pánípat. These unhappy men were slaughtered the morning after the fight in cold blood, and their heads arranged as trophies in front of the Afghán tents.

His great triumph made Ahmad Sháh master of Hindustan and once again placed the imperial throne of Akbar at his feet. Ties of blood and religion made the Rohillas his most trustworthy allies,

and fear kept Shujá-ud-daulah true. There was only one power from which he might expect opposition, the Jats under Súraj Mall, but the wise and politic character of this chief rendered it more than probable that he would submit rather than provoke hostilities. The king had to deal with a mighty question, and one, too, which seemed the problem he had resolutely set himself to master and solve. But before passing on to the state of India at the time of the battle, it will not be out of place to see how the news was received in Maharasthra. The Peshwá's accounts from the army were such as to cause him grave alarm. He could not believe his army could suffer anything better than defeat, for he saw the war was mismanaged, and he feared a calamity the true nature of which he would not confess even to himself. Bhonslay joined him with 10,000 men, and together they marched to the Nerbudda, the anxiety of Peshwá increasing at every step. On the banks of the river a cossid was met, with a letter to some sowcars, or bankers. This was taken to the Peshwá who opened it, and saw at once that the fabric of power he had so laboriously built up had been shattered and riven as by a thunderbolt. The letter ran:—
 "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up."

By and by fugitives from the field confirmed even this dreadful account, and then the Peshwá turned back and sadly marched towards Púnah through a land of mourning, and in six months died of a broken heart. With him perished the last hope of the Mahratta state ever rallying from the disaster, which had so suddenly blasted its prosperity and the ambition of its rulers. With him perished, too, the last hope of the establishment of a powerful and united Brahman empire in India. The family disputes and jealousies which Balají Bají Ráo could not wholly suppress, and which had led to the grievous blunder of transferring Sheodasheo Ráo to the command which Raghunáth Ráo had wielded successfully, after the Peshwá's death ripened into civil war, and led to the virtual dismemberment of the Mahratta Empire between the Bhonslays, the Gaekwar, Holkar and Sindhia.

At the time the battle was fought and won, the Emperor, supported by a few Frenchmen under M. Law, was ravaging Behar, and eight days after Ahmad Sháh had gained his great victory, Sháh Alam (for so Prince Alí Gauhar was now known) was repulsed in an attack on Patna, and compelled to return to Gya, where his career as a partisan was soon to be exchanged for that of a puppet. The Emperor had looked to find in the Mahrattas the power which should seat him on the throne at Delhi. Their defeat and retirement from Hindustan and its politics threw him into the hands of the English, and almost his first

act of sovereign authority was to confirm their nominee, Mír Kásim Alí, in the dignity of Názim and Súbahdár of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, in place of Mír Ja'far whom they had compelled to abdicate. The Emperor therefore asked for and received the protection of the English, and one result of this state of things was that they succeeded, on the return of Ahmad Sháh to Kábul, to all that influence which had before been wielded by the Mahrattas. When the Emperor again passed under the influence of the Mahrattas at the end of 1771, the English Company had grown into a power which was in popular estimation the only rival in Northern India capable of contending successfully with the reviving power of that people.

Far to the south Haidar Alí had made himself master of Mysore, and was about to receive from Bazálat Jang the title of Nawáb of Sera, while the English achieved a success almost equivalent to that which in Bengal made the Emperor their dependent. Five days after the battle of Pánipat, they opened their trenches against Pondicherry, and on 18th January 1761 Count de Lally, the governor-general of the French possessions in India, having surrendered at discretion, the exulting roar of the guns of the English army and fleet proclaimed the extinction of French influence in India. We shall search the history of India in vain for a period equally fraught with events decisive of its destinies as the opening weeks of this year 1761. Those who look for the guiding hand of an overruling Providence in the establishment of the English empire in India, could find no more apposite illustration of their position than these three great events, the crushing overthrow of the Mahrattas at Panipat by a general who made no use of his victory, the subjection of the Emperor Sháh Alam to English influence, and the fall of Pondicherry, —all happening literally within a few days of each other, all springing from widely differing causes, and all tending to the one end of advancing English interests and exalting English power.

But to return to Ahmad Sháh. No man was ever more capable than he of estimating at their correct value the political results of the great triumph he had achieved. His conduct of the campaign, and the skill and resource he had shown during the battle, raised him at the age of thirty-eight to that undisputed eminence amongst Asiatic warriors which had been before enjoyed by Nádir. Indeed so great was the renown of the conquerors, that Shujá-ud-daulah was invested by popular opinion with a not inconsiderable reputation as a general and soldier, simply because he had been present at the fight, and had held a command under the king. The position of affairs was very simple. At Delhi, Mírzá Jawán Bakht, son of the absent Sháh Alam, enjoyed the trappings of royalty with which he had been invested by Sheodasheo Bháb.

The Jat chief, Súraj Mall, held the strong country about the Chambal, and in the camp of the king were the Rohillas and the forces of the Nawáb Wazír of Oudh. The Rohillas were the best native soldiers in India, and by religion as well as descent were bound to the king almost as closely as his own subjects. Their political position, too, was such as to make the assumption of imperial authority by Ahmad Sháh their only means of safety, as it was their only road to prosperity and advancement. The Nawáb of Oudh hated them and coveted their lands, and he was sure to find ready allies in the Jats. The part they had taken in the campaign so fatal to the Mahrattas had made that people their irreconcilable foes. Ahmad Sháh saw, then, that if he proclaimed himself Emperor, he would carry with him the Rohillas, and probably rally to his standard every Muslim free lance in India. His own army was strong in numbers and of proved valour and experience, and although he could not rely on the enthusiastic adhesion of Shujá-ud-daulah, whose dream of independence would vanish on the accession to power of a capable and warlike monarch, yet his success left him in a position where he could command the Nawáb's services and reward them by the office of Wazír to a living and vigorous empire. The Jats, too, like the Rajputs, would probably bow to the necessity of the moment, and he might therefore reckon on the submission and more or less hearty support of Hindustan proper. Beyond Hindustan there were the Mahrattas in the south, and to the east was the descendant of Bábar ready to make common cause with those strangers from Firingistán, of whose mode of warfare he had seen something in the army of Nádir, and the power of which he had experienced at Páñipat in the terrible onslaught of Ibráhím Khán Gardí. He saw before him, then, a great war, the termination of which he was unable to predict, and in which success was the one condition on which his authority would depend. Defeat would be followed by the defection of men like Shujá-ud-daulah, and by ruin. Dangers such as these could not however daunt a man like Ahmad Sháh. But, although his army was vastly superior to that with which Bábar had conquered India, and might be largely recruited in the country, the king had seen with sorrow that the influences which operated to prevent his crushing the rebellion of Nasír Khán Balúch, were still ripe amongst his sirdars. It is even said that some desertions had taken place during the campaign, and that in one fight the division of the Yúsufzáis had suffered heavily, in consequence of the wilful delay of some of the chiefs when ordered to carry them assistance. Ahmad Sháh could not throw himself on the native troops of India, and he could only set himself to the task of converting his Indian conquests into an empire by leading an army as ambitious as himself and as zealous. This he did not

possess ; his soldiers had amassed a vast amount of plunder before the spoil of the Mahratta camp fell into their hands, and they were eager, like all levies, to take home their gains in the war, after which they would, if the king desired it, again conquer and again plunder India. To crown the king's perplexities, his letters from Peshawur spoke of disturbances it was desirable he should quell, and from Kandahár he had news of the doings and sayings of Hájí Jamál Khán, the Barúksaí chief who had been the first to hail him king, which convinced him that the question he had to decide was whether he should risk losing Afghánistán, the source of his strength and the source of his reserves, to gain India, a crown he could only keep by throwing away the scabbard of his sword.

Some three years and a half before, a similar question had been presented by fortune for the decision of the chief of another northern race—the general of those strangers who had just before the battle of Páñipat deposed the Súbahdár of Bengal, a man they had themselves placed on the *masnad*, for another of their nominees. Clive had decided as fortune wished. He resolved to take the risk, and if success led on to empire, to follow, slowly it might be, but unfalteringly. The difference in the position of the two generals was this. Clive knew by experience that the European system of war made a few hundreds a match for a host of natives, and he saw that amidst the unwarlike population of Bengal the English might without great difficulty secure an impregnable base from which to extend their conquests. He saw, too, that the empire had broken up, and that no contingency was so unlikely as the English being called upon at any time to meet its whole strength. Ahmad Sháh, on the other hand saw the matter from a point of view, the very opposite to that taken by Clive. Standing at the centre of the empire, he perceived what immense masses of ruin would have to be cleared away before the structure could be rebuilt with any strength and with any prospect of durability, and weighing the condition and circumstances of his own kingdom against the work to be done, he decided that his means were insufficient for the task. He fell back, therefore, on the policy with which he had begun his reign, and declared that he was satisfied with the previous limits of his kingdom. His decision was doubtless helped by the reluctance Shujá-ud-daulah manifested, when it was suggested to him that a contribution to the expenses of the war would be acceptable. Besides, Ahmad Sháh loved his own country and its mountains, and could not bring himself to risk the loss of Kandahár, even although the loss were replaced by Delhi and Agra. Public opinion in India looked to see him place the crown on his head. This was the third time he had held possession of the capital, and this time his mastery was undisputed and indisputable. When, therefore, he retired, and abstained from laying his hands on the throne, public

opinion decided that, in spite of his valour and ability, he was nought. He seems to have dropped suddenly out of Indian politics after his great victory. All parties threw themselves into the contest for independence and power with greater fierceness than ever. The Jats, the Nawáb Wazír, the Mahrattas, intrigued and fought amongst themselves and with the king's allies, the Rohillas, without concerning themselves about the views or policy of the king. They were careful only to avoid the Punjab, and refrained from provoking a power whose moderation they despised because they could not understand the sources in which it had its origin, but of whose strength they had imbibed a wholesome fear. Before turning his back on Hindustan, Ahmad Sháh proclaimed Sháh Alam the rightful Emperor, and allowed Jawán Bakht, his son, to retain the insignia of state as the Emperor's representative. Shujá-ud-daulah was declared Wazír, and Najíb-ud-daulah Amír-ul-umará, with the command of the garrison of Delhi.

The withdrawal of Ahmad Sháh from the arena of Indian politics left the English and the Mahrattas the two powers between whom the ultimate conflict for sovereignty would have to be fought. From this time, too, it is observable that that absence of a national sentiment which is a marked characteristic of the history of India under the Moguls, led the various Indian princes to acknowledge the English as one of the lawful and recognised powers of the peninsula, rather than as valuable mercenaries, or indispensable auxiliaries. The king left Hindustan a prey to adventurers represented by Najíb-ud-dowlah and his Rohillas, Súraj Mall and his Jats, and Shujá-ud-daulah and the tall men of Oudh, afterwards so well known as Paandies. Najíb-ud-daulah was faithful to the trust the king had reposed in him, and endeavoured to protect Delhi and the districts which yet remained to the Emperor as the appanage of the capital. Súraj Mall saw the opportunity he had waited for so long, and for which he had suffered so much, and pushed his acquisitions to the very environs of Delhi, where he was met by Najíb-ud-daulah, and fell at the very opening of the battle which ensued. Meantime Shujá-ud-daulah had turned all the Mahratta agents out of the Doáb. He was afraid to attack Súraj Mall, and dared not attack the Rohilla allies of Ahmad Sháh; he therefore turned his arms eastward, and after effecting some conquests in Bundelcund, marched into Behar in support of Mir Kásim, and was signally defeated by the English at Buxar.

The king marched to Kandahár, and at the news of his coming, rebellion died out, or only burned fitfully. Hájí Jamál Khán, great grandfather of Amír Sher Alí, hastened to make submission and resume his allegiance, and the few who drew the sword were put down almost without an effort. In 1762

he was again called into the Punjab, where the Sikhs, a sect of reformed Hindus who had composed the bulk of the adherents of Adánah Beg in his rebellion against Prince Timur and Sirdár Jahán Khán in 1757-58, and who aspired to found a nation, had begun to be troublesome. This people first became formidable in 1762, when they cost Ahmad Sháh a campaign. He drove them into the hills, but from this period they gradually became more and more troublesome, and presently powerful. In the following year, 1763, the Afghán king and his army were nearly as unfortunate as in that terrible retreat on Herát, which for the moment imperilled the king's career at its very outset. Ahmad Shah, again called home by internal troubles, determined to visit Mooltan and then proceed through the mountains to Ghaznín and Kandahár. Setting out from Sirhind, which seems to have been the extreme limit of his kingdom eastward, his army suffered all the evils incident to a summer and autumn march in the plains of India, and all the hardships and miseries of a winter march through the hills. The next year there first appeared the symptoms of that terrible disease which drove the king from the haunts of men, and led him to dwell chiefly at *Túbah Madrif*—the famous pleasaunce—a palace he had built for himself amongst the hills. Here he devoted himself to consolidating the power he had created, and hence he was called in 1767 to appear once more in the field for the protection of his Indian dominions. A fresh outbreak of the Sikhs led again to their being driven into the hills, to emerge and renew the war as soon as the king was once more across the Indus. This was almost the last appearance of the king in the field. His disease was cancer in the jaw, and this now compelled him to trust largely to his lieutenants and his sons.

In naming a successor, he showed his wisdom and penetration. The Sirdárs were anxious that he should signify that the crown was to descend to Prince Sulaimán, governor of Kandahár, the king's eldest son, who was married to a daughter of the Wazír, Sháh Walí Khán. The king however chose Timur, governor of Herát, and married to a Mogul princess and a daughter of Sháhrukh, Prince of Mashhad and grandson of Nádir. The reason he gave for the selection is somewhat singular. A rebellion had been headed by Sirdárs Diláwar Khán and Zál Beg, and the king had sent word to Sulaimán Mízá to capture and slay them at all hazards. The Prince treacherously seized Zál Beg and slew him, but Diláwar Khán fled to Timur, by whom he was protected in spite of the repeated orders of the king. For this act of disobedience, Timur was named heir, and the king convinced the chiefs that he was the fittest to rule by explaining to them that although for reasons of state he was obliged to order the death of the insurgent chiefs, there were oth-

* reasons why he did not wish his orders carried out, and that Timur had shown resolution, judgment and courage by obeying his father's secret wishes rather than his public orders.

In 1773 the king retired from the conduct of the kingdom to his mountain retreat, where he died early in June at the age of fifty. His body was taken to Kandahár and buried in a tomb which has since become famous as a shrine. The people whom he had loved, and who had honoured him as a king while in life, accorded him when dead the higher honours of the Saint, and so sacred was his resting-place that the avenger of blood turned back foiled from its portals. A party, at the head of which was Sháh Walí Khán, endeavoured to secure the throne for Sulaimán, but the wishes of the king were a law to the great families and the chiefs, and Timur took possession of his inheritance without meeting with any serious opposition. Sháh Walí Khán indeed submitted, but was sentenced and executed, with two of his sons and two friends, and this severity broke up the conspiracy. Timur was crowned at Kandahár, and succeeded to an empire which stretched eastwards to Sirhind, and westwards to Nishápúr, northwards to the Oxus, and south to the Makrán Sea.

Ahmad Sháh was one of the greatest men who have appeared in Asia. A very Afghán of the Afgháns, in spite of such terrible blemishes on his reputation as the massacres of Delhi, Muttra and Pánípat, he was yet almost the antithesis of the national character of his people. They are cold and cruel, he was courtly in spite of his soldier plainness, and clement; they are impetuous and reckless, he was far-seeing and singularly patient in carrying out his plans; they are rude, uncultivated and careless of learning, he was polished, a poet and divine, and a man who took a profound delight in the society of the learned; they are intriguing, impatient of control, and bear their engagements lightly, he was the best politician of his time, a man with an instinct for order and discipline, and loyal in word and deed. Add to this that he was above the influence of the harem, a foe to drunkenness, and renowned for his generosity and charity, and the portrait is as unlike what is understood to be the Afghán national character as it can well be. And still Ahmad Sháh is, in all the countries he left to his successor, remembered as a great, a wise, and a good prince, and in his own land, and amongst his own people he is regarded as the most glorious type of the nation, and as the most finished model for its rulers. The people supported him because he made the dwellers in the cities and the Tájiks a counterpoise to the tribes, and because he insisted with inexorable sternness on the maintenance of tranquillity at home. The chiefs also were his willing followers, for he enlarged their powers, even whilst he made them dependent on himself, and converted their

office to a large extent into that of legate of the king. He was the idol of his army and the dread of his enemies, who, in a single lustrum, saw him—a comparative youth—raise a mere jumble of tribes into a compact and powerfully aggressive nation. In spite of the departure from his system which led to the overthrow of his successors and the exile of his grandson, in spite of almost ceaseless civil convulsions, Afghanistan has remained a kingdom and will remain a kingdom, for he taught the people that their only hope of peace and prosperity is the rule of a strong central authority instead of a system of tribal republics. The house he founded is no longer in power, but the nation he called into life will never cease to bear the impress his genius left upon it, and never cease to regard him as its best and greatest benefactor and worthiest representative.

ART. II.—MISSIONARY LABOUR IN THE EAST.

WHAT is Christianity? A question easy enough to ask, but very difficult to answer—to answer, that is, satisfactorily. Unsatisfactory answers there are, more in number than the sand of the sea. In truth, you have only to ask the question, and the representatives of a score or more of sects start forward, to declare that their wares are the only genuine specimens of Christianity to be found in the world. All others, they assure you, are counterfeits but those which bear this or that particular trade-mark. There are, we all know, because we hear about them every day of our lives, “certain essential truths which are common to all denominations of Christians.” But these essential truths are the hardest things to seize hold of and get defined. We never remember to have seen or heard of any statement of them, which some Christian denomination would not perish rather than acknowledge as correct. In England, indeed, the notion of a common Christianity has been implicitly, if not explicitly, abandoned. The very fact that the professors of Christianity require a conscience clause to protect them from each other’s beliefs, is incompatible with the existence of a common faith. The same feeling of a radical diversity lies also at the root of that movement which must shortly dis sever the State from any connection with a church. “All churches,” men say, “consider it essential to have a certain number of theological propositions as a basis of communion. No one can become a minister in any church, who is not prepared to subscribe to these conditions of membership. These conditions, whether embodied once for all in written documents or given out from time to time on the authority of a Pope, can only be the opinions of a certain number of fallible human beings. They cannot remain, except for the briefest periods, co-extensive with the intellectual and moral life of the nation. As the circumstances of life alter, problems come up for solution with which these religious formulas are incapable of dealing. Successive sections of society detach themselves, in consequence, from the national church, and set up churches of their own. The so-called national church then ceases to be national; the other religious bodies deem themselves to be unjustly treated; and the nation at large falls into the condition of a kingdom divided against itself. There is no probability of unanimity of opinion hereafter, and therefore it is wiser not to fetter the State with the profession of any creed at all. Men, whatever be their creed, do contrive to act together in matters pertaining to this world; and it is with these matters only that the State is concerned.”

Now from the stand-point of the unbeliever (using that word in no opprobrious sense), this argument seems to us unanswerable. If Christianity is nothing but a certain number of theological propositions, there is no reason why the State should be at the trouble and expense of making profession of it. But what does puzzle and astonish us is, that this conception of Christianity is not only accepted by a large number of Christians, but hailed with loud thanksgivings as a most beneficent discovery. "There is no common Christianity," they declare, "and the notion that all Christians will ever become members of the same national church, is absurd and preposterous." Now this does puzzle us exceedingly.

Whether or not the apostles looked forward to an immediate re-appearance of Christ as a visible Cæsar governing the world, there can be no doubt that, sooner or later, they did anticipate an era when the kingdoms of this world would become the kingdoms of their master. It is absurd to suppose that in their anticipations of this golden age they merely beheld a period when nations should be divided into a number of little sects, with a government over all of no religion at all. The most vehement dissenter will hardly care to deny that when that day comes, sectarianism will be absorbed in a national church. But if a national church be already a demonstrated impossibility—what then? Must not the Apostolical anticipation be relegated to the limbo of beautiful delusions? Must we not admit that Christianity is, as Scepticism asserts in England, simply a certain system of opinions about the next world which may any day be supplanted by some other, as Buddhism was supplanted by Brahmanism, or the Ptolemaic system of astronomy by the Copernican?

These questions appear to us to have a vital interest for the missionaries out here; for it is obvious that until some definition of Christianity is universally accepted, all missionary enterprise must be greatly crippled. The missionaries may destroy such faith as their hearers possess, but it is not possible to do much more. The inquirer is simply bewildered, not comforted, by the offer of some forty or fifty different religions manufactured in Europe, in place of the one he has abandoned. Take an analogous case. Suppose astronomers were split up into half a dozen hostile parties; some declaring the earth to go round the sun; others, the sun to go round the earth; others protesting against both these notions as incorrect. Would not the impartial observer come to the conclusion, that as yet none of them knew much about the matter, and resolve to hold aloof altogether until something like unanimity had been obtained? The general sentiment regarding Christianity is precisely this among Hindus and Musalmans, as well as among a great number of Englishmen. People do not understand what a Christian is.

The creature is a sort of chameleon which takes all colours, from the Pope at the head of the Œcumenical Council down to the field-preacher who startles his hearers with 'tidings of damnation.'

These somewhat obvious thoughts have come upon us with a sense of novelty from the perusal of two papers which lately appeared in this *Review*. They both treated of the subject which we have given as a title to our paper, and were manifestly the work of thoughtful and able men. In the first (April 1869) the writer argued that education is the most potent instrument for accomplishing the conversion of the heathen. The writer of the second (January 1870) protested against this conclusion, and pronounced in favour of preaching. Both papers, as we have said, were evidently written by men entitled to be heard, and both writers were careful to define the meaning they attached to the words, 'conversion to Christianity.' It is on these definitions that we are desirous to offer a few comments. They open up the whole question of the evangelising of India.

The advocate of education writes as follows:—"Christianity is not, either exclusively or primarily, set for the overthrow of false religions as such, but for the triumph of good over evil in whatever form it appears, and of God's truth over every untrue thing of which men are held in bondage; . . . it is a purely spiritual influence which, when it has once gone forth from us, the eye cannot follow in its flight; an influence which, communicated though it may be through us, passes at once into hidden chambers of thought and passion, there to begin a silent and invisible conflict with the evil that rises up to repel it; and which must be left to its own inherent life to quicken the nobler instincts of the heart, into which it has entered."

The first thing which strikes us in this passage, is its apparent endorsement of the sceptic's notion of Christianity. There is nothing supernatural in it. It is simply a spiritual influence imparted by the missionary to those who chance to hear and to agree with him. The conversion of a Hindu to Christianity is the eradication of the notion that Brahma, Vishnu and Siva constitute the Supreme Triad, and the substitution in its place of the missionary's notions regarding this matter. Regarded in this way, education is at once seen to be the most effectual mode of conversion. Catch a Hindu young, put him into a missionary school, surround him for years with a certain set of influences, and almost inevitably he grows up exactly as his teachers desire. But a conception of Christianity which places it on a level with any mundane school of philosophy, is assuredly one which few Christians would be willing to accept. The writer of the second paper, at any rate, is not one of them. "The fact is," he writes, "that many who insist with iteration on the necessity of gradual

“ development, as recognized in all the divine operations—a fact
 “ undeniable and no way alien to Christianity, *when once the seeds*
 “ *if it have found place in the hearts of men*—fail to bear in mind
 “ sufficiently the postulate, that the germinating power requisite
 “ to the growth of Christianity in the heart is God’s, and that after
 “ a spiritual and even miraculous manner. While the progress of
 “ this growth is gradual, the vivification of it must be an instan-
 “ taneous process, and the *immediate* work of the Creator, resultant
 “ on our delivery of His message to the soul. To lose sight of this
 “ miraculous power, exercised directly by the Most High, is to
 “ dishonour God . . . and so weaken our faith, that unless we rest
 “ upon some other confidence, our hands hang down. Such confi-
 “ dence, then, we are apt to place in schemes of man’s devising, from
 “ which we are led to assume for Christianity an inherent power
 “ bestowed upon it once and for ever by God, in place of realising
 “ that all its life and power to influence the heart is derived from
 “ the instantaneous interference of the Author of Life.”

This language is somewhat vague. The writer, however, appears to agree with his adversary so far, that he admits there is a certain something, called Christianity, which the missionary has to teach. But besides this, there is a germ, or ‘germinating power,’ which at the moment of conversion is planted in the heart of the unbeliever by a divine act, and which, in fact, constitutes conversion. The conversion of a man, therefore, has nothing to do with either teaching or preaching. It depends upon a process over which the missionary has no control, and, to judge by the testimony of experience, in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred this process is not gone through, and the labours of the missionary are, in consequence, entirely nullified. In one important particular, however, the advocates of both teaching and preaching seem to be at one. They appear to believe, that until the spiritual influence is imparted by the missionary—until the germ is planted by a distinct act of the Deity, the heathen is in a state of utter darkness, cut off from all participation in the Divine Word, who, according to the teaching of St. John, has been from the beginning the Life of the World, and the indwelling Light of every human being born into it.

Let us now sum up in a few words, what, according to these views of Christianity, are the hopes of salvation held out to the native, the motives to exertion presented to the missionary. The native, it must be confessed, is at present in a very bad way. He seems to differ from the beasts that perish only in being cursed with an immortality which will subject him hereafter to everlasting torments. His chances of escape are two. He may receive a spiritual influence from some chance missionary, which may, indeed, plunge him into atheism, drunkenness and profligacy, and

then his last state will be worse than his first. But there is also a possibility that this influence will "pass into hidden chambers" of thought and passion, there to begin a silent and invisible conflict with the evil that rises up to repel it." If victorious, the native will we suppose, be saved; but, to judge from the present condition of Christendom, this spiritual influence never is victorious. At least the chances in any individual case are so infinitely in favour of the old leaven of malice and wickedness (in which case the convert will be no better off than he was before), that the practical inducement to become a Christian is weak almost to complete extinction.

Baffled here, the native may fall back upon the notion of the germ. But here a world of difficulties rise up to drive him to despair. Under what conditions is this germ implanted? Will prayers and entreaties, will the practice of austerities, induce the Creator to take pity upon a man's miserable state, and bestow upon him this wonder-working germ? Or is the gift of it a mere matter of arbitrary caprice? Is every professor of Christianity in possession of it, and were Socrates, Phocion, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, and a thousand others, hopelessly excluded? Is it possible that a man's eternal welfare can depend solely and entirely upon this, and a merciful Creator have withheld it from the meanest of the beings whom he has made? In whatever way we look at it, this notion of a germ, it seems to us, can only paralyse men with despair. By removing Christianity altogether beyond the reach of man's endeavours, it must beget an absolute indifference with regard to it. And from the missionary's stand-point, this notion of a germ "would assuredly cause his hands to hang down." It deprives him of all motive to exertion. The propagation of Christianity becomes as irrational a waste of time as to water and manure a field, where, so far as we know, the seed for a harvest has never been sown.

Not that the idea of a spiritual influence communicated by the missionary is a whit more comforting. It is, to our thinking, positively fearful. It burdens the missionary with the responsibility of a line of conduct fraught with tremendous consequences for evil or for good, and yet endows him with no power to carry his efforts to a successful conclusion. He is like a man who has to perform a delicate surgical operation in total darkness, who has to do it habitually, though he sees the lives he longs to save perishing miserably beneath his crippled hands. Surely such could not have been the faith which worked with so tremendous a power in the soul of St. Paul. The world has never beheld a spectacle more grand and inspiring than his life and actions from the time of his conversion. Living as we do in the midst of Christendom, it requires a strong effort of the imagination to place

ourselves in the times of the Apostle. We behold, from our vantage ground, the mighty stream of tendency rolling with an ever-increasing volume through the past centuries, and forget that only the beginning was visible to him. Half unconsciously we endow him, not with the eye of a faith which pierced through the blankness of the dark, but with a species of clairvoyance to which the future revealed itself as a visible panorama. But what in truth were the circumstances of the Apostle? The Master whom he proclaimed as the Lord of Heaven and Earth, had perished upon the cross as a malefactor. He himself was a prisoner in the palace of the Cæsars, and in continual expectation of a martyr's death. The churches he had founded, were beset with perils from false teachers, with perils from their own internal divisions, and liable at any moment to be utterly swept away before some sudden wave of imperial persecution. But the faith of the Apostle does not waver. He bids the churches rejoice in the conviction that they are the firstfruits of a movement which will embrace the whole world within its folds. He declares that it is the will of God that *all* should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth. Whence arose this sublime confidence in the destiny of man? What was the nature of the conversion which awakened it in the mind of the great Apostle? The success of all missionary enterprise depends upon our obtaining a right answer to these questions. All discussions as to teaching or preaching may be laid aside until we have ascertained it. We ask our readers to bear with us, while we endeavour to do this, because it is our conviction that, unconsciously, Christian clergy of all denominations, or, at least, the greater part of them, are preaching quite another religion than the Gospel of St. Paul, and that in that fact lies the secret of missionary failure.

The great Apostle was a Jew—as he says of himself, a Pharisee of the Pharisees. He believed that he belonged to a people singled out from mankind, and made the especial objects of God's favour and protection. God had given them a written law as the pledge of this. The absence of this law was the sign that the nations in general were outcasts from the blessings of Israel, having no hope and without God in the world. When a sect arose among his countrymen who claimed to possess a fuller knowledge of God than had been accorded to the Jewish people—who asserted that this knowledge was intended indifferently for all mankind, the heart of the future Apostle burned with indignation. "He persecuted the Church of God and wasted it." But a time came when the feeling grew up in the mind of this zealous Pharisee, that the mere knowledge of a Divine Law was not sufficient. It imposed an obligation, but it conferred no power to discharge that obligation. This law, which had been proclaimed

to the chosen people from the awful summit of Mount Sinai amid flame and thunder and the sound of a trumpet, he found to be the outward expression of an inner law written in the heart of Jew and Gentile alike. All acknowledged its authority, but none had the power to fulfil its behests. He was aware of this struggle of others, from the contest that was going on in his own mind. *To will* was present with him; but how to do that which he would, he knew not. He declared the law, from his inmost heart, to be holy, just and good; but he found himself at every step enthralled by another law, which warred against the law of his mind and brought him into subjection to sin. It was idle to suppose that the accident of his nationality made this sinful condition less sinful in him than in a Gentile. Nay, he was more sinful in that he sinned in the face of clearer knowledge. He had fallen, as it were, self-convicted. He could only ask in the extremity of his anguish, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Thus was the Pharisee brought face to face with the awful question, whether in truth the God of his Fathers was a Deliverer or a Destroyer. At this crisis "*it pleased God to reveal his Son in him.*" Such is St. Paul's own account of his conversion. Immediately, he goes on to say, I conferred not with flesh and blood. He retired to Arabia; and there, step by step, worked his painful way from the stifling caverns of despair to the light of upper day and the fresh breeze of heaven. St. Paul speaks of these things as a removing of the veil which had hid the righteousness of God from him—a discovery of the true character and purposes of Him whom he had been ignorantly worshipping.

God was no longer the stern, unforgiving lawgiver He had once seemed to be. He had revealed himself to men in the person of his Son, as one who entered with a perfect sympathy into all their joys and sorrows. He sought to reconcile the world to Himself, to drive away the dark thoughts about God bred by sin and superstition, by the manifestation of his true character as an all-wise and infinitely-loving Father. The gulf, too, which divided men from God was filled up. That Son who had perfectly made known the Father, was also the "Christ in us"—the inner Light who illuminated the minds of Jew and Gentile alike. He had taken flesh; he had been tempted in all points like as we are; he had entered into the state of death itself, and emerged triumphant from every contest, that men might know the light within them was not a 'will of the wisp' to lead them into quicksands and marshes, but the supreme Lord of the universe, the Mediator between the human and the divine, uniting God with man and man with God. Finally, there was the Spirit of God. From the Christ in us proceeded a Spirit, who inspired to all

noble effort ; who, in every country and through all time, had maintained the battle against sin ; who would finally convert the kingdoms of the world into the kingdoms of God and of Christ.

This was the gospel of great joy which St. Paul deemed it his mission to teach. He could not suppose that he had any personal interest in it from which others were excluded. It was to his mind the solution of the great riddle of life—the discovery of the meaning and the end of man's existence. It was a revelation of the dynamics of the spiritual world, declaring at once the goal humanity was intended to reach, and the divine forces that were conducting it thither. At that time, every nation—nay almost every city—deemed itself to be under the protection of some tutelary God, whose good-will had to be propitiated by rites and sacrifices. The religion of the people was intimately interwoven with all the acts and thoughts of their political and social existence. Any neglect in the services paid to the local deities was sure, in the popular estimation, to be visited by scanty harvests, disastrous wars and other calamities. Even among the disciples of scepticism, there were probably few who would not have joined with hearty good-will in the popular shout "The Christians to the Lions!" when the shadows of coming misfortune thickened around the State. There was, according to St. Paul, a deep truth lying at the root of these convictions. There was a God who had made of one blood all men to dwell upon the face of the earth, and determined the bounds of their habitation. The character and nature of that unknown God had been made known to him. If men received his message, there would be, so to speak, no change in the ground of their convictions, but only in the object of their adoration. Life would no longer be, as heretofore, a spark of light flashing from the abysses of a silent eternity, but a thread which runs "across some vast distracting orb of glory." The knowledge of the true character and purposes of God would fill with light the unknown regions beyond the grave. The spiritual life would still mingle and blend with the actual world, but in place of the capricious beings who plagued and tormented mankind, would arise the vision of a Heavenly Father, who hateth nothing that He has made. And with the faith that good and not evil is the Lord of man, would come hope in the destinies of the human race, and energy to work towards their fulfilment. When the Holy Spirit, speaking to the hearts of men, had made these convictions co-extensive with the world of humanity, then the universal church of Christ would be established upon earth. The world, to quote the language of an eminent divine, contained the elements from which the church was to be made ; the world became the church, when those elements were attracted round their proper centre.

Two words of terrible import in matters theological have mainly been the agents in obscuring the apostolical notion of a church—election and predestination. St. Paul, in writing to the early churches, addresses his correspondents as “the elect” or “predestined.” Christians have understood these expressions to mean that a certain portion of mankind are predestined or elected to the enjoyment of everlasting felicity; and the rest, in the same arbitrary fashion, to the endurance of everlasting suffering. Perhaps no stronger argument could be adduced to show that Christianity must draw its vitality from some perennial spring of life, independent of the people who profess it, and which feeds and strengthens the inner human life, whether men will it or not, than the extraordinary fact that this ghastly superstition has not completely checked the development of Christendom. For it has leavened the whole body of Christian theology, though expressed in its most repulsive manner in the formulas of Calvinism. It is easy to conceive the amazement of St. Paul, if he had been confronted with this development of his doctrine. We can imagine him appealing in passionate remonstrance to the testimony of his writings: “Do I not say, that as, in Adam *all* die, so in Christ “shall *all* be made alive; that neither death nor life nor any other “creature can separate us from the love of God that is in Christ “Jesus; that God has reconciled the *world* (the whole world) “to himself; that he has included *all* under sin, that he might “have mercy upon *all*. The churches which I founded, were to “make known these great facts to men. I call them elect or “predestined for this work of propagation, because they had been “selected for no merits of their own, but God had shined in their “hearts to make known the knowledge of His glory.

“These notions of yours that men are predestined to perdition “unless they belong to this or that sect, profess this or that opinion, “are precisely those which I had before my conversion. I thought “like you, that none but Jews could be saved; that there was a “virtue in circumcision which removed its subjects from the category “of ordinary mortals. I was delivered from these delusions on “that memorable day when I journeyed towards Damascus.”

We are now in a position to state what appears to us to be the radical opposition between the modern conception of Christianity and the Apostolical one. According to the modern Protestant, Christianity is a certain number of religious propositions, or, in other words, ‘a spiritual influence’ which a missionary may or may not impart to his hearers. If he does not impart it, his hearers are condemned to everlasting torments, and the Protestant, winking hard, trusts that in another world he will be able to perceive that this is a just, reasonable and merciful proceeding. If, however, the missionary does succeed, in com-

municating the influence, the recipient becomes what is technically termed 'a vessel of grace,' and sometimes 'a brand snatched from the burning.' But whether even now he is certain of salvation, it is impossible to say. Some sects, such as the Wesleyans, would answer in the negative, unless he became also the subject of certain spiritual experiences; and there are other essential processes, as 'justification by faith' and 'sanctification,' which involve the future in such a thick mist of darkness and uncertainty, that until a man is fairly in heaven it is impossible to pronounce with confidence what will become of him.

According to St. Paul, what he wished to make known was the character of God, His method of governing the universe, and His determination to restore the race of men to their true state as children of their Father in Heaven.

The machinery, if we may use the word, whereby this great result was to be worked out, was a Divine Power, above man, but acting through and in man—inspiring him with all those feelings which raise him above the brute creation. Thus whatever be a man's speculations regarding the origin of man, there are none who will deny that there is a *something* within us, which strives to repel evil, and prompts to well-doing. All men confess, in one way or another, that there is an ideal order which every true man should strive to establish upon earth, and which can be established only when

Each man finds his own in all men's good,
And all men work in noble brotherhood.

The distinctive position of St. Paul was, that with him these points were no longer matters for discussion. He had been admitted as it were behind the veil, and seen the Divine Will carrying on its operations in the hearts of men. He knew that *that something* which prompts to good and repels the evil, is the "Christ in us," who is dividing the light from the darkness in the minds of the believer and unbeliever, of Jew, Turk, Infidel and heretic. He knew it was the Spirit of God who inspired men with that sense of brotherhood, and preserved them from the selfishness and isolation into which they continually tended to fall. He claimed no peculiar merits, asserted no privileges for himself, which did not belong equally to the whole human race. Assuredly no man ever lived who would have adopted more cordially the language of St. Peter, that "God is no respecter of persons, but in every country whosoever feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him." His was a message of Hope, a message of Redemption for the whole human race from all their ills, bodily and spiritual. "Such was the Gospel," writes a living divine, "which shook the idolatry of the nations. . . . Saul of Tarsus must have been equipped in the school of Gamaliel "with weapons for overthrowing all different forms of idolatry.

"When he entered into the actual fight, he found no use for them. He exposed no fable. He ridiculed no tradition. He only induced any one to cast away his torch by bidding him go forth into the sunlight. But that method proved to be the effectual one.

"The dream of a Father of God, who partook of all the frailties and sins of men, gave way before the announcement of a Father of spirits, who chastened men for their profit, that they might be partakers of His Holiness. The hum of oracles was hushed before the voice of the living word. Magicians and enchanters trembled when they heard of a Spirit who guided into all truth."

In a word, modern Christianity is a system of opinions which distinguishes the Christian from the professors of other religions. Pauline Christianity is the revelation of a God, who is the Father and Saviour of all men, whatever be their religious opinions.

But it is not sufficient to assert the fact of this startling difference between primitive and modern Christianity. If it exists, it must be possible to trace the divergence in the history of Christendom, and our case cannot be accepted as complete, unless we indicate the manner, in which the deviation from the true path has been gradually accomplished. This, then, we will endeavour to do.

What, in the first place, might we imagine would have been the method adopted by those who desired to spread the knowledge of Pauline Christianity? Believing Christ to be the Light and Life of every man who comes into the world, they would have shrunk from the impiety and folly of making certain transitory opinions of their own the conditions of communion with Him. Believing that the Spirit of truth is continually passing on from mind to mind, and silently guiding the world into truth, they would have shrunk from the impiety and folly of attempting to anticipate His work in those mysterious regions of existence by acts of physical compulsion. Believing in the continuous working of these Divine Powers in the hearts of men, they would have shrunk from the impiety and folly of confounding the revelation of God with the book which told them where to find Him.

Every accession of knowledge regarding the world within them or the world without, would have been hailed as a further unfolding of God's eternal laws, a welcome correction of their own fantastic theories. For themselves, knowing that they were elected and predestined to make known a God of Love, they would have won their way by the exhibition of a love unfeigned, the practice of a charity that never failed. No community of isolated ascetics, seeking to win heaven by making earth a hell, they would have acted after the example of their Master, binding up the broken-hearted, proclaiming liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that were bound. Before this practical assertion of a complete reconciliation between God

and man, the ghastly fancies of superstition would have melted away like mist in the sunshine ; priest-craft, with all its attendant evils, would have dropped to earth, withered and sapless as the dead leaves of winter. With the gentle but resistless power of light, these missionaries would have spread in widening circles, dispelling the darkness, calling order out of chaos, and harmonizing the rude and jarring elements of society by turning the thoughts of men to their true centre. Something of this description, the sanguine spectator might have predicted. Let us turn to the reality and see how far it accords with it.

At the close of the fifth century, the ruin of the Roman Empire was complete. Her glory and her civilization were trampled under foot of countless hordes of barbarians. All the elements of the old social system had been broken up and ruined irreparably ; the materials for a new one had still to be produced. The Christian Church alone rose above the wide scene of desolation, with a definite organization and a settled purpose, still young and vigorous, and possessed of the two great principles of expanding life, order and progress. And at this great crisis, the church did accomplish a marvellous work.

From the sea of barbarism which roared and tossed in ceaseless turbulence about her, she did gradually evolve society, nationality, obedience to law, the confession of a divine order. But there was all along an infidelity in the rulers of the Latin Church, which, as it became more pronounced, crippled her powers for good. That infidelity was shown in the exaltation of a man as the head of the church, in place of the invisible headship of Christ. All the calamities which the Church of Rome has brought upon Europe are traceable to this primary error. Christ and his Apostles, in building up the Christian Church, had, to use the expression of Wordsworth, laid "her foundations in heaven." The unseen Christ was not only the head of the Church ; He was the builder up and preserver of it ; He alone could enter among the communicants, and discern who had and who had not on the wedding garment. But Christ was not only the Head of the Church ; He was also the Lord of the Universe, who, by ways beyond the ken of humanity, was leading all mankind to the knowledge of truth. Thus the Church became to men, by her acknowledgment of the Divinity of Christ, a witness that she and the whole world were under a gracious and divine government. In transferring the prerogatives of Christ to the keeping of a man, a mortal blow was struck at this belief in a divine government. But all history teaches, that in this belief is our only security for moral freedom. Men who do not possess it, and are deeply penetrated with a conviction of their own infallibility, are almost inevitably driven to persecution.

It presents itself to them in the light of a duty, which overcomes the softer inclinations of their nature. In proportion to their earnestness and sincerity, is the likelihood of their conceiving themselves impelled by some irresistible power to torment humanity for its good. Thus has it always been from the earliest ages to the present time. Sacerdotalism—using that word in its largest sense, as the assumption by man of that authority which can be rightly used by Him alone who knows what is *in* man—has caused three parts of the misery of the human race. It makes no difference under what disguises the thing may cloak itself. The ‘*élite* of humanity’ in the religion of Positivism occupy precisely the same position as the priesthood in the Romish Church, and, like their great antitype, would assuredly become, if they had the power, a huge aggressive agency “to grind down the recalcitrant elements of society.” If there be no acknowledgment of a living God, man, when he has the power, will appropriate that divine position for himself. Such was the case in the Church of Rome. Having assumed the powers of Christ, the Pope and his subordinates acted consistently like men. They organized a vast machinery for spreading their own opinions. They compelled men, by the logic of the axe and the stake, to confess—not the Godhead of Christ, but the Divinity of the Church. And they succeeded thus far. They burned, tortured, beheaded and slaughtered with such amazing perseverance, in behalf of their opinions and to stifle those of others, that men did at last become thoroughly convinced that facts were of no consequence—the opinion you happened to hold about them, everything. The death of Christ became of no service to any living soul ; but the opinion which he happened to hold about it, might exalt him to heaven or plunge him into everlasting perdition. This perverted notion, the Romish Church burned so deeply into the heart of Christendom, that it is as strong now, or almost so, as at the time of the Reformation. It was against this infidelity that England protested at the time of the Reformation. She introduced no new religion ; established no new church. She simply liberated the State from the domination of a foreign bishop, and declared Christ to be the true inviolable king of the land, the Head of Church and State. But the bishops of the English Church were nevertheless unable to believe in the power of Christ to preserve his church. A Pope and most of his co-adjutors soon made their appearance, a little modified outwardly, but in spirit the same as before. A live Pope, indeed, could not be had ; but a dead one was constructed out of Thirty-nine Articles, and made supreme head of the church. Surely the most remarkable substitute for the headship of Christ which the wit of man ever devised ! As a Pope of this kind, could not explain himself, or persuade men of anything in

particular, without assistance, he was fenced about with Acts of Supremacy, Test-acts, High Commission Courts, Star Chambers, and other machinery. By means of this multifarious agency, recusants were at least taught the disadvantages of perversity. They were tried for high treason; they were decapitated; they were banished, fined, and imprisoned; they were made to stand in pillories; they had their ears cut off, and their noses slit; but it was all of no avail. Strange to say, these methods did not produce uniformity of conviction in matters theological. They could not, of course, build up the Church of Christ in the land; with Him and his Church they have no connexion whatever; but they failed totally in building up the Church of the Thirty-nine Articles. They only split the nation into a multitude of sects, who hated each other with a perfect hatred. By slow degrees, churchmen have discarded this machinery of physical compulsion; but the Thirty-nine Articles continue to impersonate the Pope, and do perhaps more harm than ever, because they are so unmistakeably dead. The world has moved on, and at every step in advance it has grown more and more difficult to make these old formulas stretch to the new facts. They have been cracked, and strained, and subjected to every species of torture and manipulation, in desperate efforts to make them correspond with the changing convictions of changing years. But the church still lacks the courage to cut herself fairly adrift from the dead corpse of her former self, and candidly confess that there are more things in heaven and earth than were dreamed of in the philosophy of the Reformers. Looking either to the past or the future, it is difficult to understand why any one should wish to retain them for a day. No glorious or sacred memories cling around them. They have never been used but for purposes of persecution. Every seeker after truth has worked with them suspended like the sword of Damocles over his head. They have driven one-half of England beyond the pale of the church, without preserving even the semblance of unity within. For even in the matter of furnishing the church with a definite body of doctrine, they have utterly failed. Had there been no articles at all, it is hardly possible that wider divergences of opinion should have troubled the church than continue to co-exist in it at present. But if we turn to the sects which have sprung from the bosom of the National Church, we find there the same story repeated. They have not only been unable to get on without a Pope; they have invariably constructed one of the most rigorous character conceivable. They have reproduced in an acuter form the failings and infirmities of their parent. Popes, either in the shape of men or manuscript, exercise despotic authority. The narrow path which leads to salvation is dimi-

nished and pared away, till it resembles the knife-like bridge which leads across the Gulf of Hell to the Musalman's Paradise. Any deviation to the right hand or the left, and the unhappy sinner, balanced on those pin points known as 'the saving truths of the Gospel,' topples over and is lost for ever. Thus we find that everywhere since the days of the Apostles, the faith in a Saviour of the world has given way to a faith in certain sets of opinions, that dreadful efforts have been made to build up a Romish Church, a Lutheran, Calvinistic, or some other; but hardly any to build up the Church of Christ. So far as Europe is concerned, it is perhaps too late now. The Christian sects have persevered in their attempts to build up the fabric of society with some Sectarian deity for a basis, until the belief in a living God has well-nigh died away. The cry is waxing loud that there is no Christ. A new deity is to be set up in his place, named Right Reason, and manufactured from a combination of public opinion, scientific investigation, utilitarianism, and compulsory education.

Now we candidly confess that we have no faith in a deity of this description. But we wish to point out that it is a God of precisely this description which Christians in all ages have been trying to build up. When any Christian sect has been guilty of persecution, they have practically denied the existence of a living God who dwells in the hearts of all men. They have striven to make a God by means of compulsory education and public opinion. And though we may have abandoned persecution as a mode of propagating our opinions, the opinions which induced persecution still live among us. And so long as we retain these, we shall continue to speak and act as though Christianity were "a spiritual influence communicated by the missionary,"—something which he possessed after the manner of private property, and which the heathen had not—not, as St. John spoke of it, as the discovery of that eternal life which is leading the whole world into life.

On the present state of Christianity in India we shall only make one or two remarks. The missionaries, we observe, have on several occasions attempted to swell out the statistics of positive conversions, by directing attention to the indirect influences which they are the means of disseminating through the country. By means of schools, lectures, and other devices, they are, they assure us, everywhere breaking down the strongholds of idolatry, and preparing the way for the introduction of Christianity. The inference appears to us highly questionable. The native, whose mind has been swept and garnished by an educational process, after walking for a while in dry places and finding no rest, generally takes to himself seven other spirits, each more wicked than

the first, and falls into a more desperate condition than ever. Moreover it is indubitable, that if the same number of Positivist lecturers and schoolmasters had been poured into the country, they would have been as successful in breaking down the ancient beliefs of the people. There is nothing in this achievement which establishes the divine origin of Christianity, or sets the seal of approval on the methods of the missionary. This is simply a natural and inevitable result of the contact of two civilizations, one of which is vastly superior to the other. There is nothing to rejoice at in it. The reduction of people to a state of infidelity or atheism is surely a very sad result to accomplish by means of a Divine Revelation.

But the missionaries also assure us that they make numerous converts. Into the statistical question we decline to enter. Statistics, as everybody knows, can in all honesty be made to give out any response. They are especially worthless as a test of what a man thinks. A far more important point, as it seems to us, is the nature of that faith which these converts are taught to profess. There must be many among them sincere and earnest in their faith. But whether these will ever be a regenerating power in the land or the reverse, must depend upon the character of the message which they have been taught, and which, in their turn, they are to teach to others. Is it a message of salvation or of destruction, which they will deliver to their countrymen?

If Christianity be God's plan for educating and restoring the human race, if it be the discovery of the process whereby He is working towards that grand issue, then we can understand why it should be called "glad tidings of great joy." For then we can declare to every one who is battling manfully with evil, that the God of the Universe is fighting on his side. Then all men may hope. Then sin and misery become a deviation from the true law of life, not a necessity imposed upon us by an Almighty decree. Then, in the burning words of a great writer, we shall "not be cast down, nor lose our heart and hope, for anything that we may feel within, any more than for anything that we may see around us. When the world seems most desolate of God's presence, most rushing downwards by its own impulse and gravitation to a deep abyss, the Word of God who created it, is still upholding it, and directing the movements of it, let them be ever so irregular and tortuous, to his own gracious and glorious ends. When it seems most as if all acts and all events obeyed a law of selfishness, that law is really producing nothing, accomplishing nothing; it is merely interrupting for a little while, with its feeble, insolent, vacillating rebellions, the calm onward march of those armies which obey the true law of the universe, the law of self-sacrifice."

Could we believe that the native Christians were filled and animated with such a faith as this, we should care little whether at this moment their numbers were great or small. We should feel an entire confidence in the great destiny before them. Think what the simple proclamation that God was a God who hated idols had the power to accomplish — how it converted a crowd of savage tribes into a nation of invincible warriors; how it carried them east and west, north and south; how every species of idolatry was swept away before them like chaff before the whirlwind; how nations were broken up and old institutions destroyed beneath the tramp of their resistless hosts; how the world emerged from that fierce hurricane, with other thoughts and other beliefs, stamped so deep into the hearts of countless multitudes that they will in all probability never be effaced. Such, to quote Emerson's language, is the power of men when "horsed upon an idea." And it seems to us that here in this country, that conception of Christianity, if our readers decline to receive it as a truth, which represents God as the Saviour and Redeemer of the whole world from evil, would possess the same wonderful force. For in all the religious beliefs of this ill-starred country we meet with the same difficulty — the difficulty to believe that good is greater than evil, that man in fighting against evil is not fighting against the law of his own nature, trying as it were to lift himself. You may propitiate these evil powers; you may induce them for a while to relax the iron-grasp which weighs down your existence; you may purchase a few moments of precarious ease; but there is no power whereby to vanquish them outright. The belief in an iron fate, the practice of devil-worship, the indolence, the apathy, the profligacy, the mendacity, all the errors which oppose the efforts of the missionary, are weeds springing from this one root. There seems to us but one way in which they will ever be eradicated. It is by the proclamation of a Faith the very reverse of all this.

But if Christianity be a germ which has yet to be implanted in the mind of the heathen, a certain way of thinking about God which is linked to the failure or success of missionaries, a darkness which can be felt descends upon the face of the earth. For then it must be that those who have not this germ, who cannot attune their minds to this way of thinking, are condemned to evil by an Almighty decree. Then it follows that for countless human beings there is no hope. They are doomed to everlasting anguish for the crime of being born. Then it follows that He who died upon Calvary, has not succeeded in reconciling the world to God. He is not the Redeemer and Deliverer of men. There is no Spirit who will guide the world into truth. The missionary may reject the theory of a germ as well as that of a spiritual influence, but

he cannot escape the conclusions from them, unless he receives the words of St. John and St. Paul in all their marvellous fullness. He cannot otherwise declare God to be the Friend of all men. For if all things are dependent upon His will, if "it be not of him that willeth or of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy," either He must have predestined a portion of mankind to perdition, or through clouds and darkness he must be guiding the whole of creation to the light of a perfect day.

That, nineteen hundred years after the death of Christ, it should be among Christian missionaries not so much a moot point as a matter on which there is no doubt, that He has *not* saved the world, or in truth, so far as we can understand them, done any thing at all, strikes us with a despair which folios of statistics would be powerless to correct. It perfectly accounts for that low moral character, which, we suppose the hottest missionary will admit, is not uncommon in the native Christian. Poor creature! what has he gained whereby he should ascend to a higher level? One thing only seems to be certain. Christ cannot save him unless he fulfils a multitude of the hardest conditions. He must pray for the gift of the Spirit, although he is informed in the same breath that without the gift of the Spirit he cannot pray at all. Without the Spirit it is in vain for him to attempt to read the Bible with an understanding mind, and yet, unless he accomplishes this impossibility, the Spirit will never come to him. Thus is he tossed on the sharp horns of a number of dilemmas. Thus does he wander through a valley of the shadow of death, with heretical pitfalls on the right hand and on the left, from which a sheer miracle can alone preserve him. He may be predestined to perdition after all; he may not have enough of faith to ensure his justification; he may have a latent bias for the pernicious 'doctrine of works.' Looking at his prospects in the most favourable light, he has "to dance a highly complex egg-dance before a King, without breaking a single egg," and the chance of everlasting suffering if he fails. This is what he has come to by calling himself a Christian. What wonder if he loses heart and hope, and determines at least to eat, drink and be merry before he dies.

We are prepared to hear that this language is inappropriate to the seriousness of the subject; we have used it deliberately. The clergy conceal the true character of their doctrines under a cloud of pleasing phrases, such as 'grace,' 'salvation,' 'the renewing of the old man,' and the like, which, we heartily believe, do impose upon themselves. Then, if any one tears aside this veil, they are shocked and irritated, and commence to call him an infidel, a defiler of the sanctuary, and other hard names. It may be that we shall be greeted with a few of these missiles.

But if our plain-speaking induces one missionary to examine for himself the foundations of his faith, we shall not have written in vain. To such an one we would address a few observations before we conclude.

The vital defect in modern Protestantism is its want of any assurance on which a man may rest in confidence. There is nothing in it to encourage a man's endeavours after a higher life, much to extinguish them altogether. According to the Protestant theory of life, men divide into two classes—the believer and the unbeliever, or in other words, the natural man and the regenerate. The natural man is simply an embodiment of the Evil one. He is a creature so lost and depraved, that he cannot by any possibility succeed in the perpetration of a good action. It is of no use for him to give the half of his goods to the poor, or his body to be burned. The regenerate man may do such things with advantage, but in the case of the natural man they are worse than useless; they are positively sinful. He has the thirteenth article flung in his face, and there learns with surprise that such acts when done by him are “not pleasant to God”—nay, that having been done otherwise than God commanded, “they have the nature of sin.” The eating of an apple having brought humanity into this disastrous condition, Christ descends from heaven to apply a remedy. He dies upon the cross; He ascends into heaven; He sends forth His Spirit. It avails nothing. The natural man remains in the same impotent condition, and only those are benefited who happen to hear of the Life and Death of Christ, to interpret them in a particular way, and to add thereto a certain number of theological propositions, about which there is endless contention. If this be not a *reductio ad absurdum*, we should be glad to know what is. But whether it be or not, it is in direct contradiction to both the general spirit and the particular teaching of the New Testament. Is it true, as St. Paul affirmed (addressing a city wholly given up to idolatry), that *in God we live and move and have our being*? Is it true, as St. Paul affirms, that *it is the will of God that all should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth*? Is it true that *as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive*? And if so, must we not reject the monstrous notion that any one will suffer endless torments unless a missionary succeeds in converting him? There is a definition of eternal life given to us on the best authority. It is said to be the knowledge of God, and of Jesus Christ whom He has sent. Eternal death must then be ignorance of God, in whatever shape it present itself. Every missionary will know that state from his own experience. He must have felt an infidelity in his own mind which tempts him continually to cast God out of his thoughts. It is the knowledge that Christ is with him which gives him the strength

and the will to combat this enemy. Is it too much to expect of him, that he should believe that what is true for himself is true for all men, that Christ is on the side of every man to deliver him from all the evil which holds him in subjection? In the merest devil-worshipper—the man who only confesses powers of destruction, there will be a cry:—"Is there no one who can save us from these powers? Is there no one who is stronger than this death which threatens our bodies, and threatens us who have these bodies?" The news of a living God, the Creator of men, who has sent his Son to grapple with death and to conquer death—of a God, whose Spirit can overcome all spirits of darkness—of a God in whom the feeblest may hope always—this news will surely come to such men amidst their savagery and fetish worship with a demonstration and power which cannot accompany any denunciation or scorn of their ancestral practices. But are not skilful exposures of scientific errors, as well as of mythological extravagances, highly desirable in the case of a people like the Hindus, who possess learned books and learned scholars and systems of great refinement and complication? No doubt a missionary with even a small amount of western culture, may point out current doctrines which science overthrows—with even a moderate standard of Western morality, may vaunt its superiority to the Brahmanical morality. He will be the more drawn to this course, because he is sure to meet with a number of intelligent natives who will endorse all his contempt for the opinions and practices which their fathers deemed sacred, and then the missionary may find that he has a second work to do, somewhat harder than the first. When he has extirpated, or seemed to extirpate, the idolatry, he will have to consider how he may clear away the deposit of atheism which he has left behind it. Might it not have been wiser to adopt St. Paul's method, to treat both as parts of the same disease, as requiring the same remedy? In the popular systems there is room for every form and manifestation of a destructive or a preserving divinity; in the philosophy there is room for every conception of a God who is identical with his priest, or who is absorbed in his own essence, who was born myriads of years ago, or who has had no birth, who is diffused through all things, or whose consummation is nothingness. The missionary may find himself in a whirlwind of all the thoughts which have ever passed through his own mind, of the speculations which have occupied the latest times. He will not find the pledge and assurance of a God of Hope who is mightier than Death and Despair in any system, popular or philosophical. He may trace the yearning for such a God in each one. Can he meet that yearning? Yes, if he really believes in a God whose Son became incarnate that He might redeem mankind from its curse;

whose Spirit quickens and renews human hearts and wills, and is preparing them for an Eternal Life and an Eternal Rest into which He desires that all His creatures should enter. Why should such a message come with greater power to Greeks of the first century than to Hindus of the nineteenth?

ART. III.—1.—*Finance and Revenue Accounts ; and Miscellaneous Statistics relating to the Finances of British India.* Compiled in the Financial Department of the Government of India. Calcutta : Office of Superintendent of Government Printing. 1870.

2.—*Report on the Census of Oudh.* Compiled by J. Charles Williams, Esq., C.S., Assistant Settlement Officer on special duty. Lucknow. 1869.

3.—*Report on the Census of the Punjab. Taken on 10th January 1868.* Lahore : Indian Public Opinion Press. 1870.

4.—*Annals of Indian Administration in the year 1867-68.* From the records issued by the various Indian Governments in 1868-69. Edited by George Smith, L.L.D. Vol. XIII. Serampore. 1869.

IT is the fashion in some quarters to ridicule the value and importance of statistical science. Statistics, it is said, can in all honesty be made to prove anything. And not only so, but the more thoroughly is a statist master of his subject, the greater the facility with which he can twist and cook figures to support the most ingenious theories.

It is all very well to characterise such remarks as hasty and superficial, but unfortunately they carry more weight with the weak-minded than they are entitled to, and tend to bring discredit on a most useful branch of knowledge. Of course statistical science, like many another good thing, is open to abuse, and has probably often been abused. It is not every man that sets himself up for a statist that possesses the most ordinary qualifications for the task. There are quacks and charlatans in this as in most trades. But it does not follow that the trade is a bad one, or that statistical science is altogether an imposture. On the contrary, it will generally be found that those who inveigh the loudest against the utility of statistical knowledge, are either men who prefer their own opinions to facts, or who, possessing neither a taste nor aptitude for figures, look upon arithmetic as one of the tortures devised for school-boys and never really intended for practical use in life.

Fortunately, however, there are men in the world who are not satisfied with *a priori* notions and generally received beliefs ; men who like to have a reason for their faith, and to base their conclusions on something more substantial than the flimsy creations of a vivid imagination ; and to these men statistics have a value of their own as enabling them to come to a decision upon

the various problems of life with a greater chance of mathematical accuracy than were those problems to be simply left to be the sport of fore-gone conclusions, or a field for passes of arms in the wide arena of rhetoric. To these men statistics are at once the *data* upon which they base their investigations and the *method* by which they arrive at the results. Setting out from well-ascertained facts, they proceed in the true spirit of scientific enquiry, and refuse to give credence to any theory, how plausible soever, which does not rest upon evidence of the most demonstrative character. It is thus that problems of the greatest importance to society have been industriously and successfully worked out; and the result has been an addition to our stock of knowledge in regard to the laws and forces which are in operation throughout the world, which can no longer be neglected by those who have a share in guiding the destinies of their fellow-men.

In India, however, statistical science is at a very low ebb. Not that the materials are altogether wanting. There is not a single department under Government which does not take a pride in annually placing on record tables of figures which are enough to break the heart of any Secretary whose duty it is to wade through them. The archives of Government teem with statistical information on almost every possible subject. The intelligent hand alone is wanting to evolve order out of chaos. Nor again, at least so long as the able Editors of the *Indian Economist* and the *Annals of Indian Administration* are in the country, can it be said that the men are not forthcoming to utilize this knowledge, were it placed before the public in a convenient and accessible form. The evil lies partly in a want of method and uniformity in the collection and arrangement of official statistics, partly in the difficulty which the non-official world experiences in procuring such returns as it requires. And although something has been effected by the Statistical Committee towards introducing uniformity in the annual reports of the several administrations, the outside public still find it as difficult as ever to ascertain where those reports are to be procured, or, having ascertained it, to procure them. Why does not the Government establish a central repository for the distribution and sale of all official publications, no matter whether they relate to Bengal or Bombay, to the North-Western Provinces or the Punjab?

It is, however, greatly to the credit of our administration during the last few years, and more particularly of the Financial Department, that it has at length recognized the vast importance—we might almost say, the absolute necessity—of statistics in the government of our Empire in the East. We shall not pause here to enquire in detail what has been done in this direction. We need only point to the three folio volumes of financial statistics

which have just issued from the Government Press, to be assured of the greater interest which is being taken in this subject than formerly. It is quite impossible indeed at the present day that the government of India can be conducted upon the hap-hazard system which has hitherto been in force. The principles which are now recognized in European countries cannot fail to have a reflex action upon our administration out here. An ever-impending financial crisis demands that past experience shall be utilized to the utmost, and that, so far as the resources of the empire can be gauged by series of figures, those responsible for our finances shall at any rate not lack all available information. Our administration must in fact be more scientific and less speculative than it has been. Theories must be made subordinate to facts. Men of vivid imaginations and roseate reports must be suppressed, and we must select our statesmen from the practical men of the world. Moreover we must begin by confessing our ignorance (for we *are* terribly ignorant on many points of the greatest importance); and we must not be ashamed or afraid to seek information, whether on the score of expense or through apprehension of interfering with the prejudices of those in whose interest it is that the information is required.

We propose to take these three volumes of financial and miscellaneous statistics as a sort of text whereon to hang certain somewhat discursive remarks which have occurred to us in connection therewith. We almost despair of being interesting. Figures are of necessity but dull, inanimate things, and it is not always an easy task to inspire them with life and interest. We can only promise not to inflict upon our readers more of them than will be absolutely necessary for our purpose, and we ask from them in return some consideration in respect of the difficulties which the nature of our subject suggests.

It is not our intention to enlarge upon the gigantic progress which these statistics prove our empire to have made during the past few years. It is not necessary to draw attention here to the fact that our revenue has just doubled in the last twenty years; that our trade has more than doubled within half that period; that for the last seven years we have been spending on an average more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling out of a revenue of 50 millions upon Public Works Ordinary, though, it must be confessed, at the expense of a deficit and an outrageous income-tax at last. Any one who is interested in these questions can study the figures for himself. He will find abundant evidence in these volumes of the steady and prosperous development of India under British rule, of the elasticity of our resources, and, generally speaking, of the effects of a wise, firm and peaceful government. He may, here and there, detect mistakes of administration; in some cases circum-

stances may seem to have done more for the country than statesmanship ; but, all things considered, the reader must rise from a perusal of these statistics with a conviction that the country is improving under our rule, and that we have not been faithless to our trust.

Reversing the order of the Financial Department, we propose to comment first upon the last statements given in Part III, *viz.* those relating to the area and population of British India. Statistics of population must form the basis of all scientific enquiry into the history and condition of a people. Without accurate information as to the numbers and distribution of the population, even a Finance Minister is liable to err in his calculations, can in fact never expect to be accurate. And if this is the case elsewhere, surely it must be so in a country where the Government occupies the position of a great landlord with a vast estate and vast resources to be developed. In such a country its labour is in a double sense its wealth, and in a right knowledge of the distribution of that labour lies the secret of its successful management.

It is considerations such as these which have induced all civilized Governments, at least within the present century, to take a periodical census of their subjects ; and similar considerations have at length prevailed upon the Indian authorities to direct that a general census of all India shall be taken in the course of next year. The 15th of November, 1871, has been fixed as the day on which every unit of the population is (if possible) to be numbered, and we have no hesitation in saying that that day will mark an epoch in the history of Indian administration from which future generations will be able to date a wiser and more comprehensive policy in our economic and fiscal science. To your tents, therefore, O Israel ! Let us now at length undertake this stupendous task of numbering the millions of England's subjects in the East ; and, while we are about it, why should it not be done thoroughly and well ?

Not, however, that nothing has been done in past years towards ascertaining the numbers and condition of the millions subject to the British sway in India. In most, if not in all, of the various provinces of British India, rough estimates of the inhabitants have at some time or other been made, but it is only within the last few years that any attempt has been made to take what we may call a regular simultaneous census. Curiously enough, too, it has not been in the older Presidencies (as perhaps we should have expected) that these attempts at a regular census have been made. While tolerably accurate and detailed enumerations have been carried out in the North-West and Central Provinces, in the Punjab and Oudh ; the provinces of Bengal, Madras and Bombay

can as yet show nothing more trustworthy than estimates based on a house-census, of dates varying from two to fifty years back.

In Account No. 160 (Part III, p. 235) the Financial Department presents us with an official statement of the area, population and land revenue of British India, and from this statement we learn that the eight great provinces of British India measure 944,983 square miles with a population of nearly 144½ millions—why will Indian Administrators persist in counting the population by *laks*?—and a land revenue amounting to upwards of 18½ millions sterling. It will be observed that this table does not include either the Berars, Mysore, or Coorg, which, being governed by us in the interests of native Princes, are not, strictly speaking, British territory.* Nor are we now concerned with the Feudatory States, regarding which indeed the figures usually given must be received with considerable caution. The statements exhibited in these miscellaneous statistics relate solely to British territory; but there are certain points which require explanation. We are at a loss to understand, for instance, why the population of Oudh and the North-Western Provinces is calculated exclusive of the native military, prisoners, Europeans and Eurasians. Nor is it clear why the non-regulation districts are omitted from the figures given for Bengal. The totals for Bombay do not agree with the detailed statement (Account No. 61). If again we are right in presuming that the ultimate object of the table in question is to exhibit the pressure of the land revenue (1) upon the land and (2) upon the population, it is surely of importance that we should be told how much of the 944,983 square miles of British India is cultivated, and how much can never be other than barren waste. This information would be particularly valuable in regard to Bengal, for which province we have searched for it over and over again in vain. Possibly the Financial Department met with the same difficulty, and if so, we can only express a hope that the circumstance will lead to measures being taken sooner or later to remove our ignorance upon the point. Probably no better opportunity will present itself than the census of 1871.

The fact is that a true comparison between Bengal and the rest of India, and a true exposition of the effects, evil or otherwise, of the permanent settlement as carried out in the former province, is almost impossible so long as our statistical information regarding it is so imperfect. It is of course to be expected that the *Gazetteer* now under preparation will remove some of the ignorance of which we complain; though our own opinion is that, in order to ascertain a true picture of the economic conditions of Bengal, a much

* These Provinces (according to the *Annals of Indian Administration* for 1867-8) measure 46,737 square miles, with a population of 6,274,861 souls.

more detailed enquiry is necessary than can be effected by calling on district officers who are already over-worked in their other duties to fill up a series of examination papers, however excellent and complete. Because it is the fashion of the hour to abuse Bengal with its zemindars and its permanent settlement (whether justly or unjustly, we do not pause to enquire,) people are only too ready to join in the cry, without examining for themselves the grounds upon which that denunciation rests. And this ignorance as regards Bengal would seem to be as conspicuous among our administrators as among the general public. The action of the Honourable Member who from his place in Council the other day solemnly proposed the infringement of the permanent settlement, was not much more extraordinary after all than the decision of the executive Government, which ruled that the land should be burdened with the cost of vernacular education in Bengal, *because* "the share of the income of the proprietors of the soil which the permanent settlement originally gave to Government is now far less than in other provinces." The fact is, the requisite information for judging Bengal aright is not forthcoming. Some years ago the Statistical Committee devised a series of forms which to an ordinary individual seemed only to embrace the most elementary information regarding the administration of the country. But in Bengal it has up to the present time been found impossible to supply that very limited amount of information. Can we wonder under the circumstances, if with their imperfect lights the Supreme and local Governments do at times take opposite views of the same question? Could it even be matter for surprise if it should turn out hereafter that Bengal has been both misunderstood and misgoverned?

At page 236 of the Miscellaneous Statistics (Part III) the total area of Bengal is put down at 337,090 square miles, or more than one third of all British India. Doubting the accuracy of these figures, we turned to the Bengal Administration Report for 1868-69, in which we find the area returned as 236,712 square miles. Here, then, is a startling discrepancy at the outset! Two official statements, neither of them a year old, differ as to the area of Bengal by more than 100,000 square miles—a trifle somewhat in excess of the entire area of any other province in India! For the regulation districts, all of which have been surveyed, the Financial Department gives a total of 274,461 square miles against 156,921 as returned by the local Government. One single division (Rajshahi) is set down at 146,484 square miles; that is, it is made out to be nearly eight times as large as it really is according to the Bengal Report!

It is of course only reasonable to suppose that the Bengal figures, specially collated as they were for the Administration

Report, are more likely to be accurate (a considerable portion of the area is *estimated* only) than the tables which have been "compiled in the Financial Department of the Government of India." We are not acquainted with the sources from which the Financial Department have taken their figures, but we have no hesitation whatever in pronouncing them to be wholly erroneous; and when errors of this magnitude are detected in so simple a matter as the area of a province, it is not to be wondered if our confidence is shaken in the accuracy of other statistics which are to be found in these volumes.

Moderate, however, as the Bengal figures are in comparison with the return compiled by the Financial Department, we would ask the reader to pause with us a moment and consider their real import. The total area of Great Britain and Ireland is 120,562 square miles; the area of the Bengal Lieutenant-Governorship, therefore, is just twice as large as that of Great Britain and Ireland. The area of England and Wales is 57,812 square miles; the regulation districts of Bengal alone are therefore three times the size of England and Wales. Similarly, if we contrast Bengal with other provinces of India, we shall probably be startled to find how over-grown it has become. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence to hear Bengal, the North-West Provinces and Oudh classed together and judged by the same standard, without any regard whatever to the peculiar circumstances and conditions of each province. Even the Supreme Government, we think, is too apt to indulge in invidious comparisons to the disadvantage of Bengal without duly considering the relative proportions of the provinces which are thus contrasted. Bengal consists of eleven divisions or Commissionerships, each of which therefore averages 21,519 square miles. Each division comprises on an average five districts, the average area of which is therefore 4,227 square miles. In the North-Western Provinces there are nine divisions, of an average area of 9,264 square miles, and 36 districts of an average of 2,316 square miles. The divisions and districts in the North West are therefore *on an average* about half the size of the divisions and districts of Bengal. The whole of Oudh is less than the Patna Division; yet Oudh has (besides a Chief Commissioner) four Commissioners, and twelve districts. The largest division in the North-Western Provinces is the Benares division, the area of which is 18,324 square miles, or less than the *average* of the Bengal divisions. To say nothing of Assam and Chota Nagpore, the Dacca division is alone half the size of England and Wales. In the North-Western Provinces there are five districts only of an area exceeding 3,000 square miles, *viz.* Goruckpur, Mirzapur, Banda, Kumaon and Gurhwal; in Bengal, twenty-nine out of fifty-six districts exceed this limit, and twelve of them exceed 5,000 square miles. Tirhoot,

Mymensingh, and Maunbhoom are each of them as large as Yorkshire, while Cachar, Hazareebagh and Lohardugga are about the size of the whole of Wales.

It is very much to be desired that these simple facts should be taken into consideration, when the Government or the public proceed to criticise the system of administration in the different provinces of India. Our own opinion is that injustice is frequently done to Bengal, simply from a neglect to consider the true extent of its area and population. No effort should be spared to ascertain the true figures in this matter, and they should find a place in every comparative statement which purports to contrast the province with any another.

The area of Bengal having been grossly exaggerated, however, in the statement now published by the Financial Department, any conclusions which might be drawn from it as to the comparative incidence of the land revenue would be clearly fallacious. Indeed, as we have already pointed out, such a comparison can only be fairly instituted as regards the cultivated area of each province; and, so far as Bengal is concerned, we are not aware of any statistics on the subject. In the North-Western Provinces, the area of which (excluding Kumaon) is 72,379 square miles, the cultivated portion is found to be 51.25 per cent. of the whole, and the land revenue averages Rs. 1-10-9 per acre. Possibly, if we were to leave out of the comparison the three non-regulation divisions, the Sunderbuns, Sonthal Pergunnahs, Cachar, the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Tributary Mehals of Orissa, we might assume—though it is an assumption we make with considerable hesitation—that the extent of cultivation in the remainder is much the same as in the North-West. We should have an area, then, for the strictly regulation districts of 114,540 square miles, of which 58,691 square miles may be assumed to be under cultivation, with a revenue demand of Rs. 3,61,89,034, giving an average incidence of 15 aṣ. 4 pie per acre. This is a point, however, upon which the best estimates can be only speculative, until we have some more certain data to proceed upon. We know that at the time the permanent settlement was made, the assessment was fixed at a very high figure, being not less than nine-tenths of the net proceeds,—so high in fact that almost all the land in Bengal changed hands immediately afterwards in consequence. On the other hand we know that prices have risen enormously within the eighty years that have elapsed since that settlement was made, and that within the same period a considerable extent of land has been brought under cultivation. For these reasons the Government revenue at the present day probably bears but a small ratio to the gross rental; but what that ratio actually is, we have no means whatever of

determining. We may ascertain it for individual estates, but it would be impossible with our present data to strike a general average for the whole of Bengal. At page 169 of his *Land and Labour of India* Dr. Nassau Lees asserts that between the years 1793 and 1857 cultivation in Bengal extended from 30,000,000 acres to 70,000,000 acres, but we are not aware upon what basis this assertion rests. Neither does the price paid at auction for estates which are sold for arrears of revenue help us much. This price varies from ten to fifteen times the rental, but then of course most of these estates only come to the hammer, because, from one or other cause of deterioration, they can no longer afford to pay the Government revenue at which they have been assessed. But although the actual pressure of the land revenue upon the soil in Bengal at the present day cannot be satisfactorily determined by any figures which we have at our disposal, we know enough to be convinced that it must be light indeed compared with what it was at the time the settlement was made. If we take into consideration the rise in the value of produce as well as the extension of cultivation, we may form some idea of the enormous revenue which the authors of the permanent settlement sacrificed by fixing the state demand for ever at the figure at which it stood in 1793.

But the evil effects of the Bengal land system are not to be measured merely by the prospective revenue which the Government voluntarily surrendered at the time of making the permanent settlement; perhaps a worse feature in the case is the excessive sub-division and sub-infeudation of tenures which has been engrafted thereon. To quote from a recent state-paper of some importance, "In Lower Bengal the zemindar has long ago made arrangements which reduce him to the position of an annuitant on the estate. He has created perpetual tenures at fixed rents which effectually deprive him of all further participation in any increase of profits from the estate. Nor does the alienation of profits end here. The holder of the tenure of the first degree has generally in the same way created subordinate tenures of the second degree; and the holder of the tenure of the second degree has created tenures of the third degree. The effect of every such transaction is to secure in perpetuity to the lessor of each degree a certain profit after deducting the rent which he has bound himself to pay in perpetuity for his tenure; and, while freeing him from all risk and uncertainties, to debar him from all participation in future increase of profits. Hence, instead of reaching the zemindar, the increase of profits which has accrued since the Permanent Settlement was made between the State and the Zemindar is now often found to be divided among numerous classes of sub-tenants who are known as Putneedars, Dur-putneedars,

"Se-putneedars, Talookdars, Ousut-talookdars, Nim-ousut-talookdars, Hawaladars, Dar-hawaladars, Gantdars, Mokurruredars, and "by many other names, until the cultivating tenant is reached who "has some beneficial interest in his holding."

Of the extent to which this sub-division of landed tenures exists in Bengal, we have no very precise information. But the following facts would lead us to infer that the evil is one of no inconsiderable magnitude. The Report on the Land Revenue Administration in the Lower Provinces in 1868-69 exhibits a total of 231,076 estates on the rent-roll with a current demand of Rs. 3,89,23,634, giving an average revenue for each estate of Rs. 168. Now in the same year 1868-69 the number of sales of landed property that were registered in Bengal was 56,014, and the aggregate value of the consideration paid amounted to Rs. 27,132,094, giving an average of Rs. 484 as the value of each transaction. The true average is, however, probably less than this, inasmuch as the registration of the lowest class of conveyances, of value less than Rs. 100, is not compulsory, and many of such transactions therefore are not brought upon the register. But the figure given is sufficiently low, as compared with the average revenue paid to Government, to show to what an enormous extent property in land has been sub-divided since the date of the permanent settlement. For this sum of Rs. 484, the average purchase-money, of all registered sales of land in Bengal last year, represents a rental of some Rs. 32 only even at fifteen years' purchase; and a rental of Rs. 32 in Bengal at the present day probably means a Government revenue of something like Rs. 5 or Rs. 6. We can only infer, therefore, that for every estate in land which existed at the time of the permanent settlement, there are now from twenty-five to thirty separate and transferable tenures.

At first sight this excessive sub-division of landed property might be interpreted as evidence of the prosperity of the country, but that it is not really advantageous to the province, will, we think, be seen, if we consider the form which it actually takes. For it is not, as a rule, a sub-division of the land itself; it is not a tendency towards the creation of small or peasant proprietaries. It is simply a sub-division of the beneficiary interest arising out of the land,—a distribution of the rent. The cultivation of the soil and the condition of the cultivator remain precisely what they were; only with the rise of prices and the enhancement of rent new interests are created, and a new class of dependent talookdars step in to snatch up the increase and absorb it in an unprofitable and mischievous subsistence.

And this sub-infeudation of the land in Bengal is still going on at a rate of which the authorities seem to be wholly unaware. In evidence of this assertion we shall adduce but a single fact,

but one which, to our mind, speaks with an eloquence which is sufficiently startling. The system of the compulsory registration of assurances affecting immoveable property affords perhaps one of the best criteria which we possess of the economic changes which are going on in the land system of Bengal. Of 77,766 leases that were registered in the Lower Provinces in 1868-69, no less than 36,830, or 47 per cent, were leases granted in perpetuity. Out of 108,989 leases registered in 1869-70, as many as 54,506, or upwards of 50 per cent, were leases of a similar character. It may of course be objected that this view of the case is not strictly correct, inasmuch as, while all leases in perpetuity are probably placed upon the public record, people do not find it convenient in practice to register leases granted merely for a term of years. To this we might reply that the system has now been in operation for five years, and people ought to know by this time that an unregistered lease for a term exceeding one year is not worth the paper on which it is written. But we lay no stress upon the percentage. We simply point to the facts and the figures as they stand. There are 231,076 estates upon the Government rent-roll, and there were 54,506 sub-tenures created in a single year. If these figures are not sufficiently appalling in themselves, no words of ours will make them so.

It may be interesting to note the districts in which we find these perpetual leases most common. More or less, they occur in every district in the regulation provinces, but the greatest number were registered in the districts of Chittagong, Noakhali, Backergunge, Furreedpore, Tipperah, Pubna, Moorshedabad, and in the Presidency division.

The evils attending this excessive sub-infeudation of landed property are so enormous, that we have no hesitation whatever in calling attention to the gigantic proportions which it is assuming in Bengal. It fritters away both the labour and the capital of a nation. It creates a host of indolent drones, to be supported without any exertion on their part out of the rent of the soil, which ought to go towards augmenting the wealth of the country. It is an obstacle to all improvement on the part of the landlords, who prefer the ease and dignity of an annuity upon the estate to the trouble and litigation attendant upon its management. On the other hand it bids fair to be a complete bar to all improvement on the part of the State, for, as the authorities now find to their dismay, it presents insuperable obstacles to the levy of rates, whether for police, roads or other local purposes. In a word, it conduces to apathy, indolence and sloth; it is opposed to the progress of industry, wealth and civilization.

We complain that the zemindars have done so little for Bengal; how could it be otherwise, when they are so many and (with some

exceptions) so insignificant? The object of the permanent settlement was to create a wealthy and powerful landed aristocracy; the effect of all subsequent legislation has been to weaken its power and to dissipate its wealth. The result is the state of things which we see around us at the present day—a state of things with which no one is satisfied, and which is absolutely prohibitive of all social and agricultural progress.

Let us consider this matter a little more closely. We are too apt to judge the zemindars of Bengal by the standard of an English landlord, and we overlook the very great difference which exists between them. An English landlord is the absolute master of his property, and it is his interest as well as his pride to invest his profits in its improvement. The result is an increase of income for himself, greater profits and more comforts for his tenantry, and increased production for the community at large. In Bengal, on the other hand, we see the net profits upon cultivation distributed among a series of zemindars and middlemen, while it is the interest of none of them to return one single penny in permanent improvements. The whole of this spare profit—the whole rental of Bengal, less that portion which the State takes as revenue—is therefore lost to the community at large, who derive no benefit whatever from it. It is unproductively consumed by a class of individuals, whom it serves to maintain in idleness while insufficient to surround them with the accompaniments of wealth. The evil is further intensified by the Hindu law of inheritance and its peculiar family system. All improvement of the soil has to be effected by the ryot—a miserable man to whom is reserved scarce enough to carry on the ordinary cultivation. For this same system of sub-infeudation tends throughout to depress the ryot, and to reduce his profits to a minimum. Amid the competition for sub-tenures the ryot must suffer. It is by no means uncommon for sub-tenures to be granted at the full rental of the estate, the holder being left to realise his profits on the transaction by rack-renting and such exactions as he can succeed in carrying out. And such “zemindarry business” is said to be one of the most profitable trades in the country.

And look at the present condition of the cultivator in consequence. Is it at the expiration of a century of British rule one whit better than it was in the days of the most grasping and despotic native government? With all our boasted civilization have we succeeded in making the Bengal ryot less miserable and less destitute than he was under the most rigorous of the Moguls? Call him from his field and ask himself. Is he richer or better off? You may see his hut—a mud hovel in the corner there; its furniture, a rude charpoy and a few ghurrahs and lotahs. His clothing even in mid-winter—and, curious as it may sound, the native of

Bengal *does* feel the cold in winter—is probably restricted to a narrow strip of cotton cloth round his loins and another narrow strip with which he vainly tries to cover his shivering frame. And as for a fire, why ! there's nothing to light one with. Even the manure, which he would have dearly liked to put on that bit of tobacco land, his wife must have to cook dinner for himself and his bairns. But he must have money concealed somewhere, or ornaments—every ryot's wife and children have silver ornaments ? Alas ! his treasure is laid up in the mahajan's books, and unfortunately the account is just now on the wrong side, as it mostly is ; and as for the ornaments, they all had to be sold last year to pay the rent, or he would not have been here now. But surely he has a right of occupancy ? No ; on the contrary his rent was raised last year to prevent its accruing ; he tried to establish it in Court, but he lost the suit, and the expenses threw him deeper than ever into debt. Unless it is a full sixteen-annas crop, he will have the mahajan down on him with that bond, which he would have specially registered this year, and then that last pair of bullocks must go. Still he is better off than neighbour Gopal, who was ousted bodily the other day from land which he had cultivated for eleven years. Nor is his rent quite as high as Ramchand's, for *his* village has just been let in farm again, and the new farmer has doubled the rents all round.

Is such a man, we ask, to be called happy and well-to-do ? — The cultivator of five or six acres at the outside, for which he is rack-rented by every farmer in succession ; bound hand and foot to the village banker, from whom he must procure even the seed which he requires for his land ; living a life of daily drudgery from which his pipe and tobacco form his only relaxation ; destitute alike of the sympathy of others and of all hope in himself, the Bengal ryot is an infinitely more wretched being than the English farm-labourer or the Russian serf. We very much doubt, indeed, whether the misguided legislation of 1859 has not placed him in a worse position than before. By Sec. 6 of Act X of that year, ryots who had cultivated the same land for twelve consecutive years were vested with rights of occupancy, and the result is that but few ryots now-a-days are left in the peaceable possession of their land for that period, while rents are of necessity subject to frequent enhancement in order to maintain the rights of the zemindar. It is thus but rarely that we meet with occupancy ryots, while the effect of our legislation has been to grind down the great mass—to make their occupancy more precarious and to raise rents. To look upon the great body of ryots in Bengal as in any sense peasant proprietors would be a mistake that argued a very superficial knowledge of the country and of the working of Act X of 1859.

The above is no sensational picture of the average Bengal ryot. The archetype may be seen in every village on any day in the year. Our description will be endorsed by every zemindar who knows anything of the Mofussil. And yet it is the agricultural classes that compose the *people* of Bengal; and it is as much for the good of these classes as for that of any others that we profess to be in India at all. What then have we done for their elevation, physically, morally or intellectually? Are they richer, wiser or more contented than they were before we ever set foot in the country? We make loud professions doubtless; even Lord Cornwallis thought it might be necessary to enact regulations "for the protection and welfare of the ryots"; of later years we have even begun to feed them in the time of famine, and our best administrators have always sincerely sympathised with the *people*. What, then, has been the cause of our failure? Why is it that through a long course of years we have utterly failed—both in our legislation and in our administration of the laws—to make the Bengal ryot a happier or a better man. The question is a difficult one, and we are not competent to discuss it. It may be that our legislation is warped and one-sided, based on imperfect knowledge and uncertain. It may be that our administration is too alien, not sufficiently in accord with the genius of the people. This is a question we do not pretend to decide. But on one point we have no hesitation. Of all the causes which conspire to keep down the Bengal ryot to his present miserable degradation, and to bar the agricultural progress of the country, none operates with greater force than the vast system of sub-infeudation, which is spreading its mischievous ramifications throughout the land with such marvellous stealth and rapidity.

Are we not justified then in demanding that this state of things shall cease? Is not the crisis sufficiently urgent to call for interference at the hands of the legislature? And let us not be misunderstood. We are advocating no breach of contract, no retrospective legislation in this matter. What we would simply urge is the necessity of putting a stop to the evil *now*. It will have to be done sooner or later, and surely the time has arrived when we see it assuming such vast proportions at the rate of 54,000 new sub-tenures per annum. What we would recommend is this; require every existing permanent tenure in land to be placed upon record within six months from a given date, and declare all new sub-tenures created in perpetuity subsequent to that date to be invalid. An exception would perhaps have to be made in favour of rights of occupancy, but these and other cases would doubtless form the subject of careful enquiry and consideration. When once a stop has been put to the evil, we shall have leisure to devise schemes for

remedying the mischief that has been done. The probability is that, if only sufficient facilities are provided for the purpose, the present state of things will right itself by a natural process. The tide will turn, and the superior landlords will manifest as keen a desire to buy up subordinate tenures as they do at the present day to create them. Then and not till then may we hope to see some permanent amelioration in the condition of the agricultural classes, some accumulation of capital, and the development of those boundless resources which still lie hidden in the soil of Bengal.

It is perhaps in relation to the finances that we find the most erroneous impressions current regarding Bengal; the statistics now published by the Financial Department afford the means to some extent of correcting those errors. We do not propose on the present occasion to enter very deeply into the question, but there are certain obvious remarks which the figures now published suggest. We find, then, that in 1868-69, while Bengal yielded a surplus revenue of ten millions sterling, the N.W.P. yielded three millions, and the Punjab, Madras and Bombay only about one million each. True, says the Punjabi, but out of your Bengal surplus of ten millions, at least eight millions are derived from Customs, Salt and Opium, the two former of which are contributed by other provinces besides Bengal, while the last is an imperial monopoly of which she has no right to take credit. We should feel the force of this objection more strongly if those who argue in this manner would take the trouble to tell us how much of the customs and salt duties is paid by the people of other provinces besides Bengal? Regard being had to their population and wealth, it may certainly be affirmed that by far the larger portion of the revenue under these heads is paid by the Lower Provinces. Take salt, for instance. The total consumption of salt in Bengal during 1868-69 was 71,87,057 maunds, which yielded a net revenue of £2,393,206. Of this quantity just one-seventh was passed out of Calcutta by the East Indian Railway, and of this a very small proportion reached the North West.* Making allowance, however, for importations by water, we will assume that no more than three-fourths of the salt which pays duty in Bengal is consumed in the Lower Provinces, the remaining one-fourth being consumed in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. A similar calculation would be sufficiently correct for the customs duties levied on imports (aggregating about four-fifths of the whole); while the duties on exports should probably be credited to Bengal.

* The actual quantity conveyed by the East Indian Railway to stations beyond Buxar was in 1868-69 only 2,991 out of 870,252 maunds, and in 1869-70 no more than 23,012 out of 1,339,011 maunds.

without deduction. The result is that of £3,455,657, the net revenue raised from salt and customs duties in Bengal in 1868-69, Bengal should be given credit for at least £2,600,000, the balance of £850,000 being proportionately distributed between the North West Provinces and Oudh.

The income derived from opium is exceptional, inasmuch as it is a tax levied not on our own subjects, but on a foreign nation. At the same time, we do not perhaps attach sufficient weight to the fact that it is as a manufactured product of the country that opium is a source of wealth to the State, and some credit ought therefore to be allowed to those provinces in which it is produced and manufactured, and where it so largely displaces other crops. A large portion—amounting to about one-third—of the Bengal opium is, however, grown in the North West, and in any comparison between the two, this circumstance must of course be taken into account.

We have been led to make these remarks by a consideration of the impression which seems to be gaining ground that Bengal, instead of being, as it really is, the milch cow of India, is a burden upon the imperial finances, and that special taxation must now be devised in order that the Lower Provinces may bear their fair share of the expenses of the State. It was only the other day that we read in the *Pioneer* that "Bengal forms but one province in the ten which compose the Indian empire, and that the remaining nine loudly complain of the fiscal injustice which the permanent settlement in Bengal has entailed on all the rest." Now such a remark, if it means anything at all, means that because the government of Lord Cornwallis eighty years ago chose to make a present of a portion of the government revenue to certain individuals, the people of Bengal must submit in the present day to additional special taxation in order to make up the loss. As well say that because the British Parliament many years ago voted a large sum of money for the abolition of the slave trade, the tea-planters of Assam should now be called upon to make it good. And such erroneous ideas will continue to prevail, so long as people cling to the fallacy of regarding the land revenue as a *tax*. It is pitiful to think that it should be necessary to expose this fallacy day after day, but unfortunately we see it still flourishing in full vigour in some of the highest places in the land. Our administrators are supposed to know something of Political Economy, and surely the greatest authority of the day reiterates the position with sufficient force and clearness. "The land-tax," writes Mill, "ought not to be regarded as a tax, but as a rent-charge in favour of the public; a portion of the rent reserved from the beginning by the State, which has never belonged to or formed part of the income of the landlords, and should not therefore be counted to them as part

of their taxation, so as to exempt them from their fair share of every other tax." "The surplus is not properly taxation, but a share in the property of the soil reserved by the State." "It is therefore not taxation but a rent-charge and is as if the State had retained not a portion of the rent, but a portion of the land. It is no more a burden on the landlord; than the share of one joint tenant is a burden on the other."* In this view it is absurd to argue that because the State has reserved to itself out of the net rental twice as much per acre in the North-West as in Bengal, taxation falls with double weight upon the former province, or to talk of the "fiscal injustice" which the permanent settlement in Bengal has entailed on the other provinces of India. The loss of revenue which is felt at the present day in consequence of the permanent settlement of Bengal must of course be a matter of universal regret, but to say that Bengal should now be called on to make up the loss by special taxation would be an act of "fiscal injustice" at which our own posterity would certainly stand aghast. Indeed in this matter of the permanent settlement Bengal is to be pitied rather than cursed.

Not that we are opposed to local taxation for local purposes either in Bengal or elsewhere; but in the name of all that is equitable, let the question be argued and discussed on its own merits, and not as arising out of the permanent settlement, with which it never had and never can have the slightest connection. Considerations of good government seem to us imperatively to demand that greater power and control in financial matters shall be left to the local authorities, and this can only be effected by the creation of local funds. It is a question involving great difficulties, but it is to our mind a question of the first importance in the present day. In many respects, the system upon which the financial administration is at present conducted is lamentably unsatisfactory. We see a number of local administrations scrambling with all the eagerness of schoolboys for the lion's share of the plums which the Government of India has to distribute each year. We see this distribution made fairly enough, probably, upon the whole, but still liable to abuse from partiality or caprice. At any rate, universal dissatisfaction is the invariable result, even the most fortunate considering themselves badly treated. But the worst feature of the present system in the extent to which those who are directly responsible for the administration of a province are liable to be balked and thwarted in their schemes for local improvement. How often does it happen that the best proposals are indefinitely postponed on the ground of financial pressure, while surplus funds that it might fairly have been expected would be devoted to the

* *Mill's Political Economy*, B. V, ch. 2, § 6.

purpose, are appropriated to the use of some more favoured province. Is it possible to conceive a system more repressive of energy and enterprise on the part of local administrations? Utterly powerless without the approval of the Supreme Government to sanction the most trifling scheme which involves the expenditure of money—and what *can* be done without money?—local Governments have at the same time the mortification of seeing surplus revenues which have been raised from the taxation of territories subordinate to themselves diverted to the benefit of some locality on the other side of India. Were it not for the high character of our governors, we should almost despair of improvement being possible under such conditions.

It is of course true that there are imperial demands upon the finances of the State which must be met by imperial taxation. No one, for instance, would think of advocating a decentralization of the army expenditure, or of insisting that the Punjab alone should pay for the defence of the North-Western frontier. But at the same time there are many items of expenditure which are in no sense imperial, and which ought to be left to the control of the local authorities. Would it not be more equitable and satisfactory that Bengal should tax itself specially to build its own jails and court-houses, than that it should be taxed indefinitely by the Supreme Government, and then rankle under a sense of unjust treatment in the distribution of the grant for Public Works? Would not a system of local finance excite a spirit of emulation among local administrations, and add to the interest which they take in their respective provinces? Would not the greater responsibility in itself be beneficial—beneficial at once to the governors and the governed? Only it must clearly be understood that any arrangement that is made, shall be final. The great fear in decentralization is lest, when once a local Government has developed a productive revenue, it should be immediately appropriated for imperial purposes by a grasping and perhaps incompetent Finance Minister.

This question brings us to the consideration of those cesses which it has been proposed to levy in Bengal and elsewhere for the construction of roads, the promotion of education, and other purposes. It seems to us to have been a great mistake from the very commencement to connect the discussion of these cesses with the permanent settlement, or indeed with the land revenue in any province whatever. Why should the land, for instance, be taxed for roads more than any other kind of property? Why should the agricultural districts alone be called on to pay for schools, which are probably more largely required, and will certainly be most expensive, in towns? It always seemed to us that these were weak points in the cesses that are levied in Oudh and some other

provinces of India, and we should greatly regret to see a similarly imperfect system introduced into Bengal. The question of local taxation stands on a much broader footing, and must be regarded in a different aspect altogether. There is no reason on earth why property in Bengal should not be taxed for education, roads, or any other local purpose, just as much as in any other province in India, the permanent settlement notwithstanding; and always granted that the proceeds of such taxation are spent upon Bengal itself, we can hardly imagine that even the most rigid conservative would seriously object to its imposition. We are all of course impatient of taxation, but it is unjust and one-sided taxation, such as this proposal to tax the land only for educational purposes, that arouses the most dogged and the most dangerous hostility. The *Hindoo Patriot* of the 20th June last assures us that even, "the zemindars do not object to pay a tax which will not fall on the land exclusively, but be general in its incidence."

So much has been written of late upon the extension of primary education in India, and its claims upon the imperial exchequer as contrasted with English education in Bengal, that we are unwilling to touch upon a subject which has been worn almost threadbare. But it still seems to us that considerable misapprehension is entertained upon the subject, and that neither of the contending parties in the discussion ever meant to go to the extreme limits for which they have received credit from their opponents. So far as an outsider can judge from the published correspondence on the subject, the Supreme Government appears to have thought the Bengal Government opposed to the spread of primary or vernacular education altogether, while, on the other hand, the Supreme Government itself has been unjustly accused of hostility to the further development of English education in Bengal. The history of the controversy is very simple. For the last year or two it has been the practice in the Home Office to review periodically the operations of the various educational departments in the different provinces of India, and in the course of these reviews, the Government of India came to the conclusion that the cause of primary education in the Lower Provinces was being somewhat lost sight of, or at any rate subordinated to the development of English education which has taken root so kindly in Bengal. For the promotion of vernacular education, then, the Government of India suggested that recourse should be had to local taxation, but the unfortunate connection of the proposal with the permanent settlement compelled the local Government to question the expediency of raising a *land cess* for the purpose, and thus placed that Government, as it were, in the position of an enemy to the education of the masses. Next came the Financial Department's resolution of the 8th

September last, than which there probably never issued from the Government of India a state-paper more superficial or more mischievous. Based upon a wholly imperfect and inaccurate view of the financial bearings of the question, it proceeded to indicate a policy which could not but fill with alarm the minds of those who take a pride in the present Bengal educational system. And although by the late resolution of the 31st March last the Government of India may be said to have abandoned its position and to have admitted the inaccuracy of its former conclusions, still the impression has got abroad, and will not be easily effaced, that the Government of India has resolved to put a check on the development of English education.

What, then, are the facts? And in order to ascertain these, we must have recourse again to our figures. In 1868-69 the gross expenditure on education in Bengal amounted to £295,150, of which £119,651 was provided from private sources, and £175,499 was contributed by the State. The proportion in which this expenditure is distributed between higher and lower education depends of course upon the definition of those terms, and here the Financial Department and the Bengal authorities would seem to be at issue. The Government of India declares every kind of English education to be "high education," whereas the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal makes a difference between *high* English and *low* English. Again the Bengal authorities ignore the cost of inspection, and class normal schools under special education. The result is that the Financial Department make out high education in Bengal to cost about 61 per cent. of the total outlay granted by the State for general education; the Bengal authorities prove it to cost only 50 per cent. according to their own definition, or 65 per cent. according to that adopted by the Government of India.

Now, whatever may be thought of the proportion, it seems to us to be abundantly evident, not only that our total expenditure on education in Bengal is ludicrously small for a population of probably fifty millions, but that, even taking the cost of the higher education at £92,492—the figure at which the last resolution of the Government of India places it—the amount is not more than the Government ought to be able to afford. Indeed, were it not for the circumstance of a financial crisis occurring just at the moment when attention was being directed to the importance of national education in the widest sense, it is probable that objection would never have been taken to the present outlay. It so happened, however, that the friends of mass education and the stern advocates of retrenchment saw in the disproportionate cost of English education in Bengal a common object of attack, and the Anglo-Indian public has in consequence had the gratification of witnessing the somewhat

rare spectacle of combined and unanimous action on the part of the Home and Financial Departments of the Government of India.

It seems to us that this action of the Government of India has been grievously misunderstood by some of those who have taken part in the discussion. Men write as if it were a conflict between the respective merits of an English education and an education in the vernacular. It is nothing of the sort. The real point at issue is the manner in which the Government can lay out a limited educational grant so as best to advance the interests of the people. It would simply be impossible on financial grounds, even if it were for other reasons expedient, to give an English education to the hundred and fifty millions of British India. But indeed it is greatly to be desired that the advocates of English education in this country should calmly review their position and consider whither they are tending. Outbursts of rhetoric and ungenerous aspersions upon the motives of those who believe that a really national system of education can only be conveyed through the mother-tongue, are not arguments, and do not go far to throw light on the ultimate object which those have in view who are so eager to promote the spread of English education in this country. Is that object to anglicise the whole of India? Do these men really contemplate a time when the people of India will be an English-speaking nation? And do they suppose that they make Englishmen of Bengalis simply by teaching them to speak and write English? Can they adduce any precedent from history of a successful attempt to educate and elevate a whole nation through the medium of a foreign language? For our part we consider even the highest class of education we are giving at the present day about as unsatisfactory a system as it well can be, and that the efforts of those concerned ought to aim at its improvement rather than its extension. A mere system of text-books and cram—it is incompetent to draw forth the full powers of the mind or to inspire a love of learning for its own sake. We quite admit that a *high* education ought to be conducted in English in preference to the study of the Oriental classics, but we are far from regarding the present system as perfect. And as for extending that system to the masses of the people, we consider the proposal as unwise as it is chimerical.

Whatever be the result of the present contest, however, so far as high English education is concerned, we most sincerely trust that the Government will succeed in instituting a system of local taxation throughout Bengal to supplement the imperial grant, and to make our total expenditure upon education somewhat more worthy of the circumstances of these provinces and the credit of the British name.

We shall conclude this paper with a few remarks bearing upon the present state of our knowledge in regard to the laws of popula-

tion as they seem to be in operation in this country. Most of our readers are doubtless aware that there are certain physiological phenomena in connection with the population which are supposed to be peculiarly characteristic of India, and one of the most interesting enquiries in relation to this subject affects the extent to which the different theories that have been advanced are borne out by the results which have been ascertained from time to time. Mr. W. Chichele Plowden has the credit of being the first to examine with any degree of scientific analysis the statistical conclusions to which the returns of population in India would seem to point. In his report upon the census of the North-Western Provinces in 1865, he arrived at two results which, to say the least, were opposed to all European experience. These results were (1) the unusual preponderance of the male element, and (2) the excessive proportion of children, in an Indian population. These phenomena have been carefully tested by those who have followed Mr. Plowden in statistical enquiries on this subject, and the upshot is that we have now such a mass of evidence as is, to our mind at least, sufficient to establish them beyond all reasonable doubt. In the Central Provinces, the Berars, the Punjab and Oudh, Mr. Plowden's theories have been thoroughly examined, everywhere with similar results. Even the experimental enumerations that were made in Lower Bengal last year, though owing to their partial character not much reliance can be placed upon the results which they disclose, pointed in the same direction. For facility of reference and at the risk of incurring the reader's displeasure, we venture to subjoin the following table in which are shown the ascertained percentages in regard to these phenomena, for every province in which a detailed census has yet been taken.

	Percentage of males in the total popula- tion.	Percentage of males in the total <i>adult</i> population.	Percentage of males among children.	Percentage of children in the total po- pulation.
Punjab ...	54.48	54.52	54.24	35.42
North-Western Pro- vinces ..	53.62	52.4	55.8	35.6
Oudh ...	51.8	50.5	54.3	36.0
Berars ...	51.7	51.2	53.1	35.7
Central Provinces ...	51.2	49.9	53.0	39.9
Bengal (experimen- tal) ...	51.01	49.23	54.17	35.9

This table exhibits some interesting results. In the first place it will be seen that in every case the number of males exceeds the number of females. In Bengal and the Central Provinces there would seem to be about 96 females to every 100 males; and this ratio diminishes as we pass through Oudh and the North-Western Provinces, until we arrive at the Punjab, where it assumes the startling disproportion of only 83·5 females to every 100 males.* Moreover, except in the Punjab, for which province the percentages in the first three columns are nearly equal, it will be seen that the disproportion which males bear to females is invariably greater among children than either among adults or in the total population.

Now in Europe, although as a rule more boys are born into the world than girls, still the number of females in the total population almost invariably exceeds the number of males; and it is, therefore, somewhat remarkable to find so very different a result in regard to the population of India. It is of course a very simple matter to pooh-pooh the whole question, to assert that our figures must be wrong, that the people of India are most sensitive as to enquiries regarding their women, and that the probability is that a large number are in consequence concealed. This is a very easy way of getting over the difficulty, if difficulty there be. When a man says "I don't believe your figures," there is of course an end to all argument. But at the same time there are considerations which induce us to think that our figures may be trusted, and that the state of things which they disclose does actually exist. We are by no means satisfied that because a certain phenomenon is opposed to what we are led to expect from our experience elsewhere, we are at once to reject as untrustworthy the evidence upon which that phenomenon is based. We knew very little about the winds and storms of India when first we came to the country, but that man would now be set down as little better than an idiot who should deny the occurrence of cyclones on the ground of their being unknown in Europe. Neither can we admit that it is a mere conflict of opposite probabilities, and that it is more probable that European experience should be found applicable to Indian populations than that our figures should be correct. Here we have five provinces in which careful and detailed censuses have been taken, and all with one result, showing the males to be in excess of the females. The officers to whom the operations were

* In para. 182 of Mr. Williams' Report on the Oudh Census, the following passage occurs, curiously confirmatory of this result:—"Another law apparently prevails; viz., that the proportion of females to males is greater in the extreme south-east, and least in the extreme north-west, and generally higher towards the east and south, and lower towards the west and north." Mr. Williams adds, "I do not pretend to offer any explanation of this fact."

entrusted and who had the best opportunities of testing the figures, all express an opinion of their general accuracy in this particular. And not only so, but the results only confirm the conclusions that were arrived at in previous enumerations.

Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that the returns are incorrect and that the excess of males is apparent only, and due to the persistent concealment of the women. What follows? In the first place it would appear that in the Punjab 1,600,000 females, or just one woman in every five, escaped enumeration. In the North-West Provinces 2,180,000, or one woman in every six was successfully concealed. Is it possible to believe that this can have been the case? Again, *a priori* considerations would lead us to suppose that concealment would be practised more generally among Muhammadans than among Hindus, but what do our returns show? In every case without exception the excess of males is more marked among Hindus than among Muhammadans. In the North West Provinces the percentage of males among Hindus is 53·37, and among Muhammadans 52·79 only. In the Punjab there are only 81·66 females to every 100 males among Hindus, while in the Muhammadan community there are as many as 85·99. In Oudh 48 per cent. of the Hindu population are females, but 49·6 per cent. of the Muhammadans. The proportion of women is lowest among the Sikhs, among whom they only number 75·74 to every 100 males, but there are other explanations given of this phenomenon without having recourse to the inference that the Sikhs are the most particular sect in India in respect of their women. Moreover, supposing this persistent concealment of the women to be the cause of the disproportion we have noted, should we not expect to find it more marked among adults than among children under twelve? Yet our figures point in a totally opposite direction. The excess is particularly marked among children, while among adults in some places it scarcely exists at all.

For our own part we are content to take the figures as they stand. In the present state of our knowledge of the social and physiological forces that are at work in this country, we are not in a position to say "This or that cannot be the case." We must be content to wait in patience, losing no opportunity of collecting information and scrutinising carefully everything which may throw light on our investigations in this quarter.

The fact that the disproportion we have noticed is more marked among children under twelve than either among adults or in the total population, seems to show that it is to be attributed mainly to an excess of male births. Mr. Plowden has advanced two theories in explanation of this phenomenon, but in the present state of the question we doubt whether their discussion is not somewhat premature. We are content for the present simply to

chronicle the facts; when the facts have been sufficiently corroborated to meet with an unhesitating acceptance, we doubt not a reasonable explanation of them will be forthcoming.

The tabular statement given above exhibits the number of children in an Indian population as varying from 35·4 to 39·9 per cent. of the whole. If the Central Provinces be excluded, the percentage varies between 35·4 and 36 only—a result of singular uniformity. And when we enquire into the matter, we find that the Central Provinces would be rightly excluded, for in those Provinces the age at which children were distinguished from adults was taken to be 14 years. In the Berars the age was fixed at 13 years, and elsewhere at 12 only. On the whole, therefore, the result is remarkably uniform, and the children in India under 12 years of age may be assumed to form 35·5 per cent. of the total population. But the percentage of children under 12 in England is only 29·5, or 6 per cent. less; and so of course we are told that our figures are utterly untrustworthy, that it is as ridiculous to suppose that people have larger families in India than in England as it is to suppose that they know anything whatever about their age. Even Mr. Plowden is among the unbelievers this time, and after having collated a most interesting and valuable series of statistics on the point, disposes of the whole by a mere assertion of their inaccuracy. To us the result is sufficiently explicable—regard being had to the social customs of the people of this country. We do not say that *larger* families are the rule in India, because we have no *data* on which to say so. At the same time when it is considered at what an early age people marry in this country, it is neither impossible nor absurd to suppose that they may have more children *born* to them than married couples usually have in England. But what we do say is that marriage is infinitely more universal in India than in Europe, and marriage, as a rule, leads to the propagation of children. This, to our mind, is a very simple explanation; indeed, we should have been rather puzzled than otherwise, had our statistics not disclosed this “abnormal excess” of children.

Granted that people in India do not know how old they are, why should there be a universal desire to be returned as a child under 12? Experience teaches us, that boys certainly try to pass themselves off as men as early as possible, and, at any rate before the age of ‘sweet seventeen,’ even girls are not given to understate their years. What possible reason can be suggested then for this unnatural tendency towards childhood? Surely it is more reasonable to conclude that, although individual ages are incorrectly given, the figures in the end correct themselves.

Mr. Plowden argues that if the statements of age are not to be regarded as inaccurate, that is, as showing this universal tendency towards childhood, “we should be justified in looking for a larger

“excess among female children compared with the female population than would be anticipated among the boys compared with the male population ; for the feelings of natives in regard to their women are more pronounced when their females are arrived at maturity than when they are younger, and we should expect to find more concealment practised in regard to females above twelve than in regard to females below that age. This would give us a greater excess of girls than of boys, as in the case of males no motives for concealment exist, either in regard to boys or to men. But this is not at all the case. The excess of boys is, as I have remarked, greater than the excess of girls—viz, 25·8 per cent. to 19·5 per cent.” But, with all due deference to Mr. Plowden, this result is just what we should have expected, and, we may add, just what has been found to be the case elsewhere. The fact is, an Indian girl of twelve is much more of an *adult* than an Indian boy of the same age, and our own enquiries on this subject have convinced us that a considerable proportion of girls are passed off as women for this and similar reasons. Again, in the experimental enumerations in Bengal, there was scarcely a single district in which complaint was not made of girls under twelve being omitted from the returns on the ground that when they grew up they would live with their husbands in other villages. Nor are we sure that Mr. Plowden’s hypothesis regarding the greater concealment of adult women is to be accepted without reservation. In Bengal, at any rate, it was the young unmarried women whom popular rumour designated as being the objects of our researches, either for some Christian or unchristian purpose.

The forthcoming census of 1871 will doubtless dispel the mist of uncertainty which still enshrouds the phenomena which we have indicated above. Though mainly taken for administration purposes, it ought also to shed a flood of light upon the physical laws which are at work among the population. To be useful for either purpose, however, the first condition is strict accuracy ; unless the accuracy of the results can be depended on, the whole of the labour and expense will only be so much thrown away. Far better would it be to confine our enquiries to the simplest details, if thereby we can guarantee their correctness, than attempt too scientific an enumeration which may have the effect of introducing an element of doubt. Everything of course will depend on the personal exertions of those to whom the details of the work are entrusted, but we may confidently hope that on this, as on other occasions Indian officers will be found equal to the duties expected from them.

ART. IV.—TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PERSIAN.

A FEW words of preface are needed regarding these translations. The two first odes from Hafiz are not given entire. Every reader of that poet is aware that his best compositions are disfigured by passages of extraordinary puerility. Good poetry among the Persians might almost be designated as accidental. They devoted great care and ingenuity to the construction and scanning of a line, but paid little heed to the poetic spirit which should inform the whole. They were possessed of no critical discrimination; all verses were equally good which in external form adapted themselves to the established rules. The same characteristics prevail to this day. Every Persian scholar considers himself also a Persian poet. A short time ago, a highly intelligent Musalman inquired of us, whether the English poets interwove their names, in the Persian manner, into the odes and lyrics they chanced to produce. On my replying in the negative, he expressed his surprise, and asked how in that case they deterred others from passing off these compositions as their own. This man had a much wider knowledge of Persian literature than most natives in this country, but he could not understand that one poet was greater or less than another. They all wrote poetry, and there was an end. He, however, made one exception. Ferdausi he held in great disdain on account of the simplicity of his language, which, he observed with great truth and contempt, "had no flowery sentences in it,"—to write a sentence which should at once scan and be flowery being the mark of a really great poet. This man was himself engaged, and for aught we know to the contrary still is, in the cold-blooded and deliberate manufacture of a panegyric in verse on one of his friends, doubtless full of flowers.

The Moth and the Candle is a Sufi poem, intended to typify the love of God, which under all trials and adversities should continue to burn in the soul of man. As some of our readers may not be acquainted with the doctrines of Sufyism, we append a brief account of it which we published a short time ago in the *Westminster Review*.

The doctrine "There is no God but God, and Muhammad is His Prophet" transformed the rude tribes wandering over Arabian sands into a nation of irresistible warriors. They poured into Central Asia, and one people after another succumbed to the propagators of the new faith and adopted their tenets. But when the tide of conquest began to

ebb—when men, no longer wholly absorbed in the work of proselytism, began to think, the old mysterious problems of existence rose up on every side of them, unsolved as before. The new formula could not be made to cover the ancient facts, any more than the old ones which had been so scornfully cast aside. And under the pressure of these difficulties began that great intellectual and spiritual movement, known as Sufyism, which has exercised so potent a fascination over the greatest minds of Persia and Hindustan.

Sufyism, speaking generally, is a species of Pantheism. The whole visible creation, according to its votaries, is the outward manifestation of that invisible Being, whose spirit, diffused and interpenetrated through every part, preserves and renews its beauty and splendour from day to day. Man himself is an emanation from the Deity; and the unrest and discontent which he feels upon earth are the throes and agonies of the divine life within him, yearning to burst its prison-house of flesh, and return to "that imperial palace whence it came." Those who are ignorant of this truth, vainly seek the satisfaction of their spiritual wants in the pursuit of fame, power, wealth, pleasure, as the case may be. In the search after these phantoms they fill the earth with mourning, bloodshed, and misery; they follow after a prize, tempting indeed to look at, but which turns to dust and ashes the moment they have grasped it. It is the duty of the wise man to disengage his affections from these shadows and concentrate them on the true realities—by the power of intense meditation to attain to the beatific vision of the Divine Being, and finally to become one with Him. For those who devote themselves to this end there is gradually created, to use the language of Scripture, a new heaven and a new earth. The sorrowful things about them cease to give pain, but the beautiful become informed with a diviner beauty. "Night and day they are plunged in an ocean of ardent desire, till they are unable through astonishment to distinguish night from day. So enraptured are they with the beauty of Him who decorated the human form, that with the beauty of the form itself they have no concern, and if ever they behold a beautiful shape, they see in it the mystery of God's work." Four stages have to be passed before the disciple of Sufyism can attain to the state of beatitude. The first of these is called *Shar'iyat*, which signifies the law. In this stage the disciple must practise a strict and scrupulous observance of all the external rites and ceremonies of religion; for these, though indifferent to the spiritual man, are needful as a discipline to prepare the soul for the reception of that higher knowledge. The second stage is called *Tarîqat*, from *Tarîq*, meaning a path, way, or direction. At this stage the disciple discards the outward forms of religion, and devotes himself to the mental worship of the Deity. The third stage is *Haqîqat*, or the state of Truth, from the word *Haq*—an epithet of the Almighty, and signifying Truth. This is the state of preternatural knowledge or inspiration. Long meditation upon God has given to the soul of the devotee a supernatural capacity. The muddy vesture of decay no longer grossly hems in. He hears the harmony of the celestial spheres, and stands in the very presence of Deity. The fourth and last state is *Ma'ârifat*—a term for knowledge, from the

Arabic word *arif*, "to know." When this stage is reached, the soul absorbed into the Divine Essence, is again one with God. But the road thither is long and difficult. The devotee has to endure painful fasts. He must live in solitary deserts, seeing only the teacher to whom he is attached; for a chief merit of the Sufi is entire devotion to his spiritual master. Numbers, worn out by long austerities, have perished miserably while still far from the goal.* Even among those who have passed through all the stages, there are different degrees of knowledge. The Sufi may partake of the nature of God, which is designated *Jamál*, and signifies that mild and gentle beauty which loves to do good and hurts not; or he may be intoxicated with the wine of

*A recent convert to Christianity from the religion of the Prophet has written a very interesting account of these austerities. "I sought," he says, "for union with God from travellers and fakirs, and even from the insane people of the city, according to the tenets of the Sufi mystics. The thought of utterly renouncing the world then came into my mind with so much power, that I left everybody, and went out into the jungles and became a fakir, putting on clothes covered with red ochre, and wandered here and there, from city to city and from village to village, step by step, alone, for about 2,000 cos (2500 miles), without plan or baggage. Faith in the Muhammadan religion will never, indeed, allow true sincerity to be produced in the nature of man; yet I was then, although with many worldly motives, in search only of God. In this state I entered the city of Karáli, where a stream called Cholidá flows beneath a mountain, and there I stayed to perform the Hisbul bahar. I had a book with me on the doctrines of mysticism and the practice of devotion, which I had received from my religious guide, and held more dear even than the Quran. In my journeys I slept with it at my side at nights, and took comfort in clasping it to my heart whenever my mind was perplexed. My religious guide had forbidden me to show this book, or to speak of its secrets to any one, for it contained the sum of everlasting happiness; and so this priceless book is even now lying useless on a shelf in my house. I took up the book, and sat down on the bank of the stream, to perform the ceremonies as they were enjoined, according to the following rules. The celebrant must first perform his ablutions on the bank of the flowing stream, and, wearing an unsewn dress, must sit in a particular manner on one knee for twelve days, and repeat the prayer called Jugopar thirty times every day with a loud voice. He must not eat any food with salt, or anything at all, except some barley bread of flour lawfully earned, which he has made with his own hands, and baked with wood that he has brought himself from the jungles. During the day he must fast entirely, after performing his ablutions in the river before daylight; and he must remain barefooted, wearing no shoes; nor must he touch any man, nor, except at an appointed time, even speak to any one. The object of it all is, that he may meet with God, and from the longing desire to attain to this, I underwent all this pain. In addition to the above, I wrote the name of God on paper during this time 125,000 times, performing a certain portion every day; and I cut out each word separately with scissors, and wrapped them up each in a little ball of flour, and fed the fishes of the river with them, in the way the book prescribed. My days were spent in this manner; and during half the night I slept, and the remaining half I sat up and wrote the name of God mentally on my heart, and saw Him with the eye of thought. When all this toil was over, and I went thence, I had no strength left in my body; my face was wan and pale, and I could not even hold up myself against the wind. The treasurer, Táj Muhammad, and Fazl Rasúl Khán, the minister of the Raja of Karáli, took much care of me, and became my disciples. Many people of the city, too, came to me, and became my disciples, and gave me much money, and revered me greatly. As long as I remained there, I preached the Quran constantly in the streets and houses and mosques, and many people repented of their sins, and regarded me as one of the saints of God, and came and touched my knees with their hands. But still my soul found no rest; and in consequence of the experience I had had, I only felt daily in my mind a growing abhorrence of the law of Muhammad."

the Divine Love—absorbed in the contemplation of the *Jadd*, or consuming glory of the Deity. In this state he is full of wrath with the iniquities of the world, and if provoked, his imprecations take immediate effect. Or lastly, he may pass from the highest to the lowest stage, and *vice versa*, asserting at one time—after the manner of an eminent devotee—that God is in his sleeve, and then falling back into the condition of ordinary mortals, trusting that God will forgive him his sins, and make his latter days righteous.

Wild as all this sounds to us, there is much in Oriental history to account for the eager avidity with which the Asiatic has embraced these notions. Take Oriental history, for example, and what is the conviction which it would bring home most forcibly to the mind? Even here, in our Western world, there is much to render the thoughtful man hopeless and desperate of humanity—hardly ever, perhaps, more so than at present, when he weighs the motives which have led to legislative reforms, proclaimed by grand flourishes of trumpets and much self-laudation. But we have learned to accept Progress as the law which governs human affairs, because on the whole Europe has advanced and not receded during the last eighteen hundred years. But in the East there has been no progress, no diffusion of knowledge, no growth of liberty, no development of national life, anywhere. During all these centuries the history of Persia or India is a record of the exploits of a long series of adventurers, each rising into power on the dead body of his predecessor, and marking his career of conquest with ruined cities, wasted fields, and slaughtered people. The despot of to-day is a friendless fugitive on the morrow; the slave who a few years ago was sold as a chattel in the market-place, becomes the unquestioned lord of millions of human souls. But there runs a terrible family resemblance through them all. Dressed in a little brief authority, they all play the same fantastic tricks; they all manifest the same indifference for human life and human suffering; they all regard the world and the human beings upon it, as given them in fee simple to do with as they please.

It is not, however, the positive suffering inflicted by these despots upon their kind which renders the study of Oriental history so depressing. Dreadful as these often were, they were generally limited to a small area. The absence of the necessary executive machinery enabled large tracts of country to escape with comparative immunity from the reach of the most terrible destroyers. But it is the absence of all hope, of any widening purpose, of any lofty ideal, gradually becoming an accomplished fact, which makes the annals of the East so dreary and so hard to read. There seems no right and no wrong: only a mad expenditure of fruitless energy—a frantic struggle for power, where *chance* is the only law. To the thoughtful or imaginative mind, looking out upon these dismal scenes, it must have become a necessity to lighten somehow the burden and the mystery of such an unintelligible world as this. Unaided by those revelations of science, which have made us believe that there is an order and a harmony deducible from that which looks most disorderly, which sounds most tuneless, the Asiatic boldly pronounced the whole wild chaos a delusion, and the solution has been

greedily accepted by the best and greatest minds of Persia and Hindustan — a melancholy commentary on their history. There are in India three great schools of Sufyism, deriving their names from their founders—the Tarîq-i-Qadiria, the Tarîq-i-Chishtia, and the Tarîq-i-Nakshbandia; or, in other words, the schools of Qadiria, Chishtia, and Nakshbandia.'

FROM THE ODES OF HAFIZ.

I.

O if that sweet Shirazi girl
 Would take my heart in hand,
 I would give Bokhara for a kiss,*
 And the wealth of Samarkand.

O Saki ! fill my cup with wine,—
 In Heav'n, alas ! 'tis said,
 We never shall see Musella's walks,
 Nor the banks of Roknabad !†

Justice I ask. These wanton girls,
 With witchlike devilry,
 They have broken up the City's peace,
 And have robb'd my heart from me.

Their charms, I think, like Joseph's are,
 Which grew so bright to see,*
 That passion tore from Zuleika's heart
 The veil of her purity.

O sing of music and of wine ;
 The world's dark secrets leave ;
 For none of us can, nor ever will,
 The riddle of 'life unweave !

* In the original the words are "the black mole on her cheek ;" we have ventured to substitute "kiss," both as being more poetical according to our English ideas, and reducing the somewhat extravagant offer of the enamoured bard to the limits of a reasonable proposal—at least, in the commerce of love.

† Musella and Roknabad were favourite quarters in the City of Shiraz—the residence of Hafiz.

II.

Go, breeze, and gently tell
Yon fairy-limb'd Gazelle,
O'er mountain and o'er plain we follow and are faint ;
Is it the pride that glows
In the bosom of the rose,
Which makes her never heed the Nightingale's complaint ?

Sweet face ! so full of light,
And eyes so darkly bright,
And body straight and tall as is the cypress tree !
Ah ! would that Heav'n would show,
What I shall never know,
Why Love is never found to make his home with thee.

We view that form of thine,
And but one fault divine,
To mar the perfect beauty that is there enshrined ;
So exquisite art thou,
We grieve and wonder how
A creature form'd for love should lack the loving mind !

III.

A rose in bloom, a cup of wine,
A mistress on my knee,—
Ah ! then the king of all the world
Is but a slave to me !

O speak and bid them bring no light
To my love-lighted room ;
For she is all my own to-night
Whose cheeks in brightness bloom.

We shall not need to shun the grape ;
That houri-face of thine,
O cheek of rose and cypress' shape !
Will sanctify the wine.

I only hear the blended sound,
Which harp and flute renew,
I see but wine cups circling round,
And lips of crimson hue.

Bring no perfume within my room ;
The fragrance of her hair
At every moment bathes my soul,
In sweetest scented air.

And tell me not there could be found,
A sweeter thing than this,
To be a slave, in duty bound,
Such luscious lips to kiss.

Ah ! since this wealth of love has come
To my abandon'd heart,
The Tavern has become the home
From which I ne'er depart.

Then, wherefore speak of name or fame
To one with my renown ?
My glory is my want of shame,
Dishonour is my crown !

I am a lawless drinking man,
A wretch who loves to spy
A face of beauty, if he can,
Uncover'd to the sky ;
And who, within this city's span,
Is otherwise than I ?

Tell not the censor of my crimes—
His own are like to mine ;
At noon, at night, at morn betimes,
He goes in search of wine !

The feast has killed the long fast's gloom,
The roses and the jasmines bloom,
Then, how should Hafiz be
Without a wine-cup in his room,
A beauty on his knee ?

FROM SAADI'S GULISTAN.

To-night, at his accustom'd hour, the cock forgot to crow,
The lovers kiss, and kiss again, nor weariness they know ;
His mistress' cheek beneath her curls is luminously bright,
As 'in the Ghougan's ebony bat the ivory ball shines white.
Until the Muezzin's call to pray'r proclaims that day is come,
And from the Sultan's Palace gate is heard the morning drum ;
It were but folly to forego the kiss and the caress,
Because a foolish cock disturbs the sweet night's stillness.

THE MOTH AND THE CANDLE.

FROM SAADI'S 'BOSTAN.'

I mind me of a night,
When sleep my eyes had fled,
I overheard a moth,
That to a candle said :

" I am a lover ; if I burn
" Fitting it is for me,
" But what have tears and flames to do,
" With such an one as thee ? "

The candle answer'd ; " My poor friend !
" The honey of the bee,
" That was the dearest friend I had,
" Has pass'd away from me.

" And when that honey pass'd away,
" The anguish of desire,
" Like Furhad's for his Shireen lost,
" Came on my head in fire. "

She spoke ; and every moment
The streaming tears of pain
Adown the whiteness of her cheek
Were flowing fast as rain.

" Oh ! Love is not for you,
" Who have not at command
" The patience to endure,
" Or the power to withstand.

“ O Fool ! before the glance
“ Of a single flame you flee ;
“ I stand, until the fire
“ Consumes me utterly.

“ And if the fire of Love
“ Has touched your wings with flame,
“ Behold ! from head to foot
“ I burn beneath the same.”

An hour or two remain'd
Before the end of night,
When suddenly, a sweet-faced girl
Put out the candle's light.

She said,* the while the smoke
Arose her head above,
“ Ah ! my dear friend ! behold
“ The last extreme of Love !

“ If you would learn to love,
“ Ah ! then you must discern
“ A deeper bliss for her you love
“ In dying than to burn.

“ The Lover will not leave the love,
“ To whom his heart is wed,
“ Although a storm of spears and stones
“ Be rain'd upon his head.

“ Beware ! embark not on this sea,
“ I say ; or would you try,
“ Then give your body to the storm
“ And be prepared to die.”

* *V. s.* the candle.

ART. V.—ARYAN FOLK-LORE.

- 1.—The *Bombay Saturday Review*. 1861.
- 2.—The *Bombay Gazette*. 1864.
- 3.—Dasent's *Tales from the Norse*.
- 4.—Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*.
- 5.—Frere's *Old Deccan Days*.
- 6.—*The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*. By George W. Cox, M.A. Late Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford. London : Longmans, Green and Co. 1870.

THOUGH there is much in the spirit of the age to justify, there is also much to refute, the indictment of utilitarianism so often urged against it. Intense as the struggle for existence has become, we yet find both heart and time not only to map the surface of the moon, but to measure the heights of its mountains and gauge the depths of its valleys ; to analyse the constitutions of remote suns ; to reconstruct the skeletons of extinct forms of life ; to revive and re-habilitate long-forgotten races. We have never, perhaps, had more to think of and to do for ourselves ; yet we give more thought and more work than ever to other worlds than earth, other times than the present, other races than human-kind. With greater force than ever the satirist may ask :—

What, alas ! is it to us,
Whether i' the moon men thus or thus
Do eat their porridge, cut their corns,
Or whether they have tails or horns ?
What trade from thence can you advance,
But what we nearer have from France ?
What can our travellers bring home,
That is not to be learnt at Rome ?
What politics or strange opinions,
That are not in our own dominions ?
What science can be brought from thence,
In which we do not here commence ?
What revelations or religions,
That are not in our native regions ?

And if the question stands as little as ever, or less than ever, in the way of our speculations after “ discoveries far fet,” and presses but lightly on our consciences, it is not because we can reply to it satisfactorily in the spirit in which it is put. The progress of science has, it is true, furnished some remarkable examples of the value of apparently worthless or trivial discoveries ; and savans, busied about the very minute or the very remote, are not slow to base upon the circumstance a justification of their enquiries. But

it has always seemed to us that, in so busy an age as ours, it is the veriest sophistry to attempt to justify speculations of this sort upon utilitarian grounds by the mere possibility of their leading to valuable discoveries. Arguing upon such grounds, and making use of the only logical principle we have at our command, surely probability is to be preferred to mere possibility; and there are abundant channels of enquiry in which experience has shown that valuable discoveries in a utilitarian sense are not merely possible, but highly probable. Nor can there, we think, be any reasonable doubt that if all the energy and powers of research devoted to the distant past were employed upon the present, if all the intense mental labour and recondite learning engaged about the remote regions of space were turned to earth and its practical concerns; if all the scientific skill absorbed in the investigation of the curious were concentrated upon mechanics, chemistry, physiology, pathology and the other subjects of enquiry most fruitful of physical advantage to mankind, our material progress would be even more rapid, our conquest of Nature more complete, than at present.

The objections we refer to, can nevertheless be answered, and, we believe, satisfactorily answered. If it were not so, we should hardly venture to invite public attention to the subject of this paper, for we must candidly admit that, when judged by a utilitarian standard, it comes within the category of far-fetched speculations.

To a certain extent the intelligent study of the past may throw light upon both the present and the future—light which may aid us both to direct our policy, and to predict dimly its results. But this cannot be said of the past indiscriminately. A certain degree of analogy or continuity is a necessary condition of the practical utility of these enquiries. It really matters very little to us as regards our own conduct, how pre-Adamite man ate his porridge or pared his nails; the polity of the dwellers on the lake can hardly be expected to be of much use either in directing our own, or in illustrating its consequences; it can serve no conceivable practical end to us artificers in iron, to know that our forefathers once used weapons and implements of stone or of bronze. Though we may some day have used up all the iron in the world, it has not yet become a problem of any practical interest to us what we shall then substitute for it. Circumstances may subject individuals among us to conditions comparable with those of the men of the stone age; but it is not an object of general importance to provide for such isolated instances. Yet there is no denying the fact that, to a large number of us, it would be interesting to know how pre-Adamite man ate his porridge: while it would, perhaps, be still more interesting to know how the men in the moon, if there are any, eat theirs; and, as to the relics

of the stone age, we know that they are actually a subject of ardent research with men who can hardly be called triflers. How are we to account for, how to justify, these facts?

To a certain extent the profound interest which civilized man feels in the remote, is an ultimate psychological fact which admits of no explanation. That it exists, is sufficient to bestow upon these enquiries a value of their own which no utilitarian arguments can affect. Or, rather, we may say that if man's mental, as well as his bodily wants, are worthy to be satisfied, the sense of the word utility must be extended so as to embrace both objects.

To some extent, moreover, we think the tendency to which we refer, admits of explanation on what, speaking metaphorically, may be called æsthetic grounds. Very much as the eye of the artist demands a back-ground to his landscape, that yearning after knowledge which pre-eminently distinguishes the cultivated intellect, demands distance for its satisfaction. Narrow limits of time or space offend the sense of intellectual power and freedom, as prison walls oppress their inmate. It is not sufficient that within those limits there be ample scope for the employment of the mind, any more than it is sufficient to the prisoner that he has as much food and drink as he can consume, and as many cubic feet of air as he can breathe. We find a certain relief from the tense girdle of the present in diving into the depths of the past, from our indissoluble bondage to earth in winging our way outwards far into the illimitable.

We feel no hesitation, then, in admitting that in making the folk-lore of India a subject of enquiry our object has been little more than the gratification of a feeling—a feeling which, however, we place as much above mere curiosity as the sense of the beautiful is above stupid wonder; and it is for those who share that feeling that we now write.

It may be asked upon what grounds we attribute to Indian folk-lore so high an interest as this; and, viewed by itself, no doubt it presents little more than a farrago of gross superstitions and silly or trivial tales, the utmost practical value of which is the amusement of children or semi-civilised men and women. It is because, when we come to apply to these creations of the imagination a method cognate with that which has drawn from the study of philology so much of the history of the past, we find them fruitful of similar results, that we claim for them a high place among the subjects worthy of our attention. It is hardly necessary for us here to recount, or even to insist on the irrefragable nature of the evidence by which comparative philology has proved the common origin of the principal European and Indian races; by which Teuton, Celt and Slave, Hellene, Persian and Indian, are shown to have emigrated at more or less distant periods from one common fatherland in Central

Asia. The general public cannot be expected to follow all the deductions of skilled philologists; and the literal changes, by which the identity of apparently unlike vocables is often established, are apt to appear arbitrary to those who have not studied closely the laws which govern them. But there would be ample evidence of the community of which we speak, if Grimm's law had never existed; evidence which has only to be fairly placed before any unbiased person possessed of the power of articulate utterance to produce conviction. We have always thought that the well-known paradigms of the substantive verb given by Max Müller, would of themselves suffice, if not to prove, at least to raise a very strong presumption of, the community of origin of those who used the different forms given.

	Sanskrit.	Lithuanian.	Zend.	Doric.	Old Slavonic.	Latin.	Gothic.	Armen.
I am :	ásmi	esmi	ahmi	ἐμμι	yesmĭ	sum	im	em
Thou art :	ási	essi	ahi	ἄσι	yesi	es	is	es
He is :	ásti	esti	asti	ἄστι	yestŭ	est	ist	â
Wo (two) are :	'śvās	esva	yesva	...	siju	...
You (two) are :	'sthās	esta	stho ?	ἑστὼν	yesta	...	sijuts	...
They (two) are :	'stās	(esti)	sto ?	ἑστὼν	yesta
We are :	'amās	esmi	hmahi	ἑσμεῖς	yesmŭ	sumus	sijum	emq
You are :	'sthā	este	stha	ἑστί	yeste	estis	sijup	êq
They are :	sānti	(esti)	hēnti	ἑπτί	somtē	sunt	sind	en.

That these forms are practically identical, there cannot possibly be any doubt. That their identity is the result of chance, will hardly be argued, looking at the number of the instances given. Though the mutual intercourse of foreign races affects the names of things much more largely than the forms of verbs, it would be, no doubt, within the bounds of possibility under certain circumstances that intercourse should bring about the agreement exhibited in these paradigms. But we cannot look at the history and relative geographical situations of the races concerned, without coming to the conclusion that the supposition of a degree of intercourse which would account for this agreement at a period sufficiently remote to meet the conditions of the case, would be a much more violent one than that of community of origin. Analogy leads to the same conclusion. As the language of ancient Asia is supposed to have sent forth these dialects, to diverge as they grew outward from the parent stem; so we know the Latin language to have sent forth the Romance branches. We know by experience that it is not intercommunication but common parentage that has produced the agreement in this paradigm :

	Italian.	Wallachian.	Rhætian.	Spanish.	Portuguese.	French.
I am :	sono	sum (sunt)	sunt	soy	sou	suis
Thou art :	sei	es	els	eres	es	es
He is :	e	é (este)	ei	es	he	est
We are :	siamo	su'ntemu	essen	somos	somos	sommes
You are :	siete	su'ntef	esses	sois	sols	êtes (estés)
They are :	sono	su'nt	sân (sun)	son	sao	sont.

The same process is still going on ; and a few centuries will in all probability render it possible to exhibit a similar relation between the languages of Anglo-Saxon colonies, even more widely separated than the speakers of the languages of the first paradigm.

Striking as the evidence of these paradigms is, they form but an inconsiderable portion of the mass of proofs upon which philologists have based their conclusions regarding the common origin of the different Aryan languages of Europe and Asia. But *pari passu* with these conclusions, a multitude of facts are brought to light relating to the circumstances and character of the people who spoke the parent language. For wherever similarity of words is legitimate evidence of community of origin, it follows as a matter of necessity that the ideas which those words originally represented must have been possessed by the people who used them before their separation. From an inspection of the stock of words common to several branches of the family, it is in this way possible to construct a list of some of the things with which the Aryan people must have been familiar in their fatherland before the dawn of authentic history, as well as to learn something of their religious and moral belief and social organisation. We can thus say with certainty that all the degrees of affinity recognised among civilized nations at the present day, were also recognised by this ancient people ; while from the original signification of the names employed to express different relations we may in many cases learn something of their conventional, as well as of their natural, functions. A familiar example of this is to be found in the word 'daughter,' which in the Sanscrit means etymologically *milkmaid* ; or in 'sister,' which originally appears to have meant *consoler*.

From similar evidence we can say what animals the parent race must certainly have tamed. The information thus obtainable must, however, necessarily be imperfect ; for since any negative evidence which a comparison of language may furnish is inconclusive, we cannot say what ideas or things the ancient Aryans did not possess ; and there can be little doubt that the instances in which common have entirely given way to different terms, far exceed those in which they have been preserved. In short, we cannot hope from language alone to obtain at this vast distance of time a sufficiently complete knowledge of the facts of Aryan life before the migration period, to form even the outlines of a picture. Here a solitary figure, there an imperfect group ; here an ill-defined patch of light or shade, there mere mist and gloom—are interspersed with wide stretches of blank canvas which the most vivid imagination will hesitate to fill in.

But having seen so much, it is not in human nature to leave the canvas as it is ; and the curious believe that they have found other

pictures of the same scene, imperfect in themselves, but furnishing the materials to fill up some of these blank intervals. Comparative mythology has been recognised as the hand-maiden of comparative philology, and the myths of the Sanscrit Vedas have been called in to contribute to the picture.

It is a necessary condition of their usefulness for this purpose that these myths should be proved to have been familiar to the Aryans of the pre-migration period; and Max Müller, Kuhn and others, have sought to prove this by comparing them with the mythology of ancient Greece and Rome. For instance, in the Vedic metaphors of the dawn flying before the Sun and finally dying in his arms, Max Müller finds at once the explanation of the Greek myth of Daphne and Apollo and the proof of its antiquity; in the story of Urvashi and Purûravas he finds not only the analogue, but evidence of the ancient Aryan origin, of that of Eurydice and Orpheus.

We must admit, however, that evidence of this description is of very inferior value to that of comparative philology. The most we can conclude from the similarity between these myths, is that there is more or less probability that they are versions of stories actually current before the separation of the peoples in whose literature we find them. The reason of this uncertainty lies in the obvious fact that they are founded upon certain natural relations patent to all the world, and strongly suggestive to the poetic imagination of the metaphors employed. We have only to personify the sun, the dawn and the night, to be compelled to describe their relations by these myths or by myths, differing as little from them as they differ from one another. That this is in all probability the origin of much of the Vedic and Greek mythology, Max Müller himself admits; and the admission is, we think, fatal to the inference of a common origin from their mutual resemblance.

This objection to the attempts which have been made to infer community of origin from the resemblances found to obtain between many of the ancient Greek and Vedic myths, brings us to one of the principal canons of criticism by which all enquiries into Aryan folk-lore, if they are to yield us any reliable information regarding the past, must be guided. The canon in question is, that similarity of ideas cannot be regarded as presumptive evidence of community of race, where the ideas in question represent or interpret, either correctly or, though erroneously, in a natural manner, events or phenomena which can be supposed to have come within the separate cognizance of the races who entertain them. The idea that the earth is a plain is, as we know, an erroneous one, but it is based upon appearances by which every uneducated observer is liable to be deceived; and

consequently the fact of its being entertained by different races cannot be regarded as a valid argument in favour of their common origin, for there is nothing improbable in its occurring to them independently, but the contrary. Even should the agreement extend further, and include the notion of the plain being bounded by a wall, it would be hardly more reasonable to base such an argument upon it, since the wall is an obvious resource to shut out that nothingness which the human mind shrinks from imagining. The same may be said of the notion that the sun revolves round the earth, and of many similar errors.

Another canon is, that the similarity of ideas must not exist under circumstances in which it can be considered probable that it has arisen from intercommunication between the different peoples concerned. The absolute impossibility of communication having taken place can, perhaps, seldom be proved; but the improbability may often be shown to be so great, that such an explanation may be reasonably treated as untenable.

The third canon is, that the ideas which form the subject of agreement shall present a sufficient degree of complexity to render their fortuitous development among different people, independently of one another, highly improbable. As in the case of the second canon, so with this—absolute certainty cannot be secured. It is in the nature of things impossible to demonstrate, that even the most complex combination of ideas, though from beginning to end purely imaginative, cannot have been constructed independently by two or any number of different persons. But the improbability increases in a very rapid ratio with the degree of complexity involved, and with the number of instances. The critic who attributes resemblance to chance, employs an instrument which loses a certain proportion of its force every time it is used.

When we come to apply these three canons, it is, we think, pretty obvious that of all the different kinds of folk-lore, popular tales form the most promising field of enquiry. The first canon is absolutely fatal to all attempt to infer anything more from agreement among the proverbs of diverse peoples than a community of common sense and wisdom, and the tendency to give them terse and epigrammatic expression. That portion of folk-lore which comes more properly under the description of vulgar errors is not so easily disposed of. A writer in the *Bombay Saturday Review*, who some years since drew attention to the remarkable coincidences existing between European and Indian folk-lore, has attached considerable importance to the fact of the wide prevalence of the same "vulgar errors." He says:—

"Ignorance is of two kinds, the one negative, the other positive; the one consisting in the mere absence of knowledge, the other

in the presence of actual error. Now, next to the structure of language, we have perhaps no more certain and valuable guide in the study of ethnology than the latter kind of ignorance, as it developes itself in a certain class of popular errors. I say a certain class, because there are two classes of such errors which we may, speaking comparatively, call respectively reasonable and arbitrary errors. I denominate those vulgar errors reasonable which are generated by an erroneous, though natural, process of reasoning, from actual facts; while those which spring out of no obvious process of reasoning from facts I call arbitrary errors. It is the latter class to which I attach so much value as sign-posts on the road of ethnological research. The former class can throw little or no light upon such enquiries. For instance the error, once universal, that the sun moves round the earth, belongs to the class of reasonable errors; and plainly we could draw no just conclusion as to the community of origin of two distant tribes from the fact that this erroneous notion was common to them both, because the facts upon which the conclusion is founded present themselves as subjects of reasoning to the whole of mankind, and the error is one which, from the nature of the circumstances, all mankind would be prone to contract. The same may be said of the belief in ghosts; the same, in a less degree, of Sabean worship, and a hundred and one other beliefs. But if it were shown that the custom of turning one's money at the sight of the new moon for luck, or of nailing a horse-shoe on the door-step to avert the evil eye, was common to two distant nations, this community of the second class of errors would certainly constitute a just ground for suspecting community of origin or mutual intercourse; and if the latter were shown to be impossible, then the former."

We must admit that, though errors of the kind referred to do not present sufficient complexity of ideas to render fortuitous coincidence in any one instance highly improbable, still the number of instances would form a strong argument against explaining them in this way, but for another consideration. Do we know enough of the mode in which these vulgar errors have been generated to say with certainty that they are unreasonable in the sense in which the writer quoted employs that term? It is true that in most cases there is no obvious relation between the things or events connected; but we know after all very little of the mental tendencies of mankind in the earlier periods of human history, or of the aspect which nature presents to men far removed in mode of thought from ourselves. There appears to be a general tendency, the cause of which we cannot explain, to attach an ominous significance to particular things and events, though the interpretation may be erroneous.

The act of sneezing is a fair example of this. In both Europe and Asia, not only among Aryan but also among Semitic peoples, some form of blessing is a custom of very general prevalence. Among some people it is the sneezer who is blessed by the bystander; among others he blesses himself, and among Muhammadans he blesses God. In Italy, for instance, it is common to greet the sneezer with the salutation "May you have children!" or "May God preserve you!" In Hindi, the blessing takes the form of "*Sakā jī, o*" (may you live for ever); and the Jews of Arabia use precisely the same salutation.

But another and a totally different significance has been attached to this act in very different places and at very different times. Among the Arabs, for instance, "if, while any one is making an assertion regarding which there is any room for doubt, another sneezes, the speaker appeals to the omen as a confirmation of what he is saying." Now this notion seems to have prevailed among the Greeks of the time of Xenophon, as appears from the well-known passage in the *Anabasis* (Book iii, chapter ii), *Ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτήρος ἐφάνη*. Among the Hindus, sneezing, when it occurs behind one, is considered by the superstitious so unfavourable an omen, that they will at once leave off for a time any work they may have commenced; and this notion may also be shown to have prevailed among the ancients by a quotation from St. Augustine.

The attempts that have been made to explain these customs are as various as the customs themselves. The Muhammadan, for instance, accounts for his *Al hamdu-l Allah* by a reference to the tradition, that when the breath of life was inspired into the nostrils of Adam, he sneezed and immediately uttered these words; while the custom of blessing the sneezer has been in Europe traced to the occurrence in Italy in the middle ages of some fatal epidemic, one of the symptoms of which was sneezing. The first is no explanation at all; the second evidently ignores the extreme antiquity of the custom.

Where an event is merely considered as significant of good or bad fortune, the fact of coincidence is remarkable only so far as regards the selection of the particular event as an omen. When once any such signification whatever is attached to it, the chances are even whether it be regarded as auspicious or the contrary. Now the tendency of the uneducated human mind to regard the most trivial circumstances as portentous is so general, that even if the selection made be entirely arbitrary, it is not very surprising that in a great number of instances that made by different people should agree. In many cases, no doubt, the temptation to attribute the agreement to something more than mere chance is strong, and this is particularly the case where it is not one single circumstance, but

a combination of circumstances, to which a particular interpretation is given.

The superstition which attributes to the throbbing of the eye an auspicious signification, seems purely arbitrary. It prevails universally in India; it is well known in England, and it was equally familiar to the ancient Greeks. To persons ignorant of physiology, however, this throbbing of the eye, from its appearing to take place without any natural cause, would be extremely liable to present an ominous significance; and the coincidence could not justly be regarded as surprising, if it extended no further. It happens, however, that the event in question is in this country only considered auspicious, in the case of a man when the right eye, and in that of a woman when the left eye, is concerned. Now in the well-known passage

"*Ἀλλεται ὀφθαλμός μου ὁ δεξιός ἤρα γ' ἰδῆσώ Αὐτάν;*

we have unquestionable evidence that the former of these conditions, at least, was considered essential to the omen in ancient Greece in the time of Theocritus. Similar evidence is furnished in abundance by Indian and Persian literature. One quotation from Quli Khân must suffice:—

*Mîpard-i chashm chapm, paik zi Irân mirasad,
Namah-i nami magar az sui sultân mirasad.**

So that here the agreement extends to a combination of two, if not three, ideas; and, but for the circumstance that the terms right and left are almost universally synonymous for lucky and unlucky, and that this superstition is not a purely arbitrary one, we should be inclined to attribute it to something more than mere chance.

We cannot perhaps so readily dispose of the superstition that ghosts are visible to dogs, which is as old as the *Odyssey* in Greece, and still prevails in India. The superstition is probably connected with the position occupied by the dog in the mythology of both Greeks and Hindus; but this is one of the few resemblances in the two mythologies that cannot be traced to any obvious natural basis, unless we find some foundation for it in the position held by the watch-dog throughout the world, especially among pastoral races. The belief, however, extends to Semitic as well as Aryan races; and it may have a natural origin in the apparent causelessness of the howling of the dog, combined with the fact that it usually takes place at night when spirits are generally believed to roam abroad. Whatever be the explanation of the belief, it is probably the ground of the superstition that the howling of dogs presages death or misfortune, which is equally general.

* My left eye throbs; a messenger comes from Persia with a gracious letter from the Sultan.

. Another remarkable coincidence of this kind is furnished by the custom of spitting on the breast as a charm against fascination. As noticed by Brand; Potter in his *Greek Antiquities* tells us that it was a custom of the ancient Greeks to spit three times on the breast at the sight of a madman; and Theocritus has

Τοιάδε μὲν οἴζοισα τρὶς εἰς ἶδον ἔπτυσσε κόλπον.

Precisely the same effect is attributed to the act among the Aryan inhabitants of India, where its threefold repetition is also insisted on. No sort of reason that we can imagine, can be found for this belief; and in this case the idea is a complex one.

The notion of a hiccough being an indication that some one is thinking of the person affected, is equally common in Europe and in India.

Naza' men main ne a'jab tarah se dil shâd kiyâ,
Aí hichkí, to kahâ, usne hamen yâd kiyâ.*

The same may be said of the superstition regarding an itching of the palm of the hand; and further the idea that the palm should be rubbed against something to make the event the more sure, prevails both here and in England. Here it should be rubbed on the forehead, there "against wood," as a popular distich witnesses.

Mr. Cox would, no doubt, find some religious or mythical significance in all these strange customs, as he does in that of nailing a horse-shoe on the door-way, because the horse-shoe resembles in shape something which we need not mention.

Instances might be multiplied *ad infinitum*. Indeed, when we consider their number, we almost feel that we are yielding too much to scepticism in refusing to recognise in them relics of the pre-migration period of the Aryan race. To the objection, however, that these resemblances either fail to satisfy, or satisfy in a very low degree, the third of the canons which we have laid down, must be added the fact that they frequently exceed the bounds imposed by comparative philology, being found to obtain between races which are not, as well as between races which are, linguistically connected.

. How will the remaining branch of Aryan folk-lore, our common stock of nursery stories, stand the test of the three canons we have stated?

Though, from the want of competent workers in this country, comparative storiology is, notwithstanding the labours of Grimm and Dasent, almost a virgin field of enquiry, enough has been done to show that it is rich in materials which admit of instructive comparison. No one with the ordinary stock of this kind

* In the moment of death I was wonderfully gratified; the hiccough came, and I knew that he had remembered me.

of lore which most of us acquire in childhood, can hear half a dozen Indian stories without being struck by the remarkable likeness some of them bear to what he heard long ago at home. He will, however, form but an inadequate conception of the extent and character of the likeness which actually exists. Let him select from Grimm's *Tales*, Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands* and Dasent's *Tales from the Norse*, those stories which are not evidently modern compositions, and compare them with an equal number of Indian tales similarly selected, and he will, we think, admit that the result affords a subject for serious study. As Max Müller says, it is one which requires careful and delicate handling. Like comparative mythology, comparative storiology has its pit-falls, which even so critical an enquirer as Dasent has not entirely escaped. Our three canons must be applied with all reasonable severity before we can be warranted in accepting a single tale as the property of our common ancestors, and, consequently before we can base upon it any conclusions regarding their manner of thought and life.

The first of these canons will be generally satisfied, for most of the stories, even where some leading idea may be based, correctly or erroneously, upon nature, are in the working out of the idea purely imaginative, while many of them have evidently no basis which can reasonably be regarded as natural. The views of the Rev. Mr. Cox, who would see a solar allegory in every fairy tale, seem to us too extravagant to be for a moment seriously entertained. We have daily abundant evidence that the imaginative faculty is not exclusively dependent upon the motions of the heavenly bodies for its subjects; while at the same time there is no story which by a free use of the fancy could not be resolved into a figurative representation of the course of nature with as much probability as many of these nursery tales are so resolved by Mr. Cox. If, however, Mr. Cox's theory were admissible, it would, in our opinion, be fatal to all attempt to prove historical connection from the mutual resemblance of the tales concerned.

Due care must be taken to avoid the temptation to consider stories as historically connected, merely because they possess some leading idea, however remarkable, in common, for the same reason, that we refuse to draw any such inference from the resemblance of vulgar errors. The leading idea, for instance, in Jack and the Bean-stalk is common to a multitude of races, who are certainly not historically connected in the sense in which the different Aryan races are. The Tower of Babel itself is a form of it; and it is an idea which has an obvious basis, if not in fact, at all events in a feeling more or less common to the whole human race. The idea again would be worth nothing if the bean-stalk, or its substitute, did not lead to the supernatural. In such cases we require agreement in special details not

flowing out of the leading idea, to warrant us in attributing to the stories concerned a historical connexion.

The following story, from the Gaelic, is given by Campbell in his *Tales of the West Highlands*.

'The fox and the wolf reached the town land, and the man to whom it belonged gave them a piece of land, the worth of seven Saxon pounds. It was oats that they set that year; and they reaped it and began to divide it. "Well then," said the fox, "whether wouldst thou rather have, the root or the tip? Thou shalt have thy two choices." "I'd rather the root," said the wolf. Then the fox had fine oaten bread all the year, and the other one had fodder. In the next year they set a crop, and it was tata crop (potatoes) that they set; and the potatoes grew well. "Which would thou like best, the root or the crops, this year?" "Indeed, thou shalt not take the twist out of me any more; I will have the crop this year," quoth the wolf. "Good enough, my hero," said the fox. Then the wolf had the potato crops again, and the fox the potatoes. Then the wolf used to keep stealing the potatoes from the fox. "Thou hadst best go yonder and read that name that I have on the hoop of the grey mare," quoth the fox. Away went the wolf, and he began to read the name; and on a time of these times the white mare drew her leg, and she cast the head of the wolf.'

Dasent gives a similar story in his Norse tales, where the creatures are the fox and the bear; while in No. 189 of Grimm the parties are the Boor and the Fiend. We know of no analogue among Indian tales; but the following is a translation of an Arabic story:—

'Once upon a time a man met the Fiend upon the road. Quoth the Fiend, "I have a wish to do business in partnership with you." "Who are you?" said the man. "The Fiend." "I, too, have a mind to do something in partnership with you," said the man. So they began to counsel together, what business they should engage in. "Let us cultivate some ground," said the man. "What shall we sow?" quoth the Fiend. "Wheat." So they went and sowed wheat. When the wheat was ripe, the Fiend called the man to divide the crop, and said, "What would you like best, the root or the top?" "I'll take the tops, and you take the root," said the man. The Fiend agreed to this. So the man cut the crop and left the Fiend the roots. The Fiend dug up the roots, and found he had been out-witted. He kept his counsel, however, and determined to take the tops of the next crop. The next year the Fiend asked the man what they should sow, and the man said "Onions." When the crop was ready, the Fiend called the man to divide it; and, before the man had time to say aught, said, "Last time you took the tops; this year you shall take the roots and I, the

tops" So they divided them accordingly. The Fiend went home, and did not trouble the man again.'

It has become a proverb among Arabs, "You are the man with whom the Devil sowed onions and was out-witted."

The point of agreement in these stories is the trick played; the moral of them all "the biter bit." The plot is the same—the persons differ. The moral is an obvious one; any set of fables would be incomplete that did not illustrate it; and, as a matter of fact, it is illustrated in many other fables in different ways. Whether the fact that nearly the same things are employed in exactly the same way to illustrate it in these stories, can fairly be attributed to fortuitous coincidence, is doubtful. We should be inclined to think it evidence of historical connection; but there is plainly nothing in the agreement to prove that the story is an old Aryan one. As regards the Arabic and German versions, it is evident that there must have been inter-communication. Not only is there no ethnic relation between the two races, but the version common to them is evidently early mediæval, from the character assigned in it to the Devil.* There can be no doubt that the Highland and Norse versions represent a more ancient form of the story. It is quite possible that an Indian version might be found in such a form and under such circumstances as to warrant the conclusion that the story was an old Aryan one. It is generally much easier to disprove the probability of communication in the case of purely Indian and Teutonic stories, than it ever is in that of Semitic and Aryan stories. For not only has there been intercourse between Semitic and European races from the earliest times, but we have had an Arab occupation of parts of Europe, while Hebrews are scattered broadcast over the land. We are of opinion that the Jews have exercised a much greater influence in the matter than is generally believed, and we certainly must not leave their presence out of account in applying our second canon. Even upon the passage of stories from India to Europe that influence has not been wholly inert. It was a Hebrew translation of the Arabic version of the *Hitopadesa* which was the main source of the European books of fables. A copy of the original Sanskrit work was carried to the Court of Naushirwan, and translated into Pehlvi. From Pehlvi it passed into Arabic; and from Arabic it was translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Joel. Before the end of the fifteenth century John of Capua published a Latin version, which was rendered into nearly all the languages of Europe. This trans-

* Christianity replaced Loki by the Devil, now a malignant, then a mischievous, spirit. As the popular taste became more realistic, the priest was substituted for the devil. In the later Muhammadan stories the Qazi occupies a very similar position to the monk in Boccaccio.

fer of a whole collection of fables *en masse* from East to West was rendered possible only by its existence in India in a literary form; but the mistakes into which ignorance of the circumstance has led philologists and philosophers should render us very careful.

Imperfect as is our knowledge of Sanscrit literature we may safely conclude that the great majority of simple Indian nursery tales have never existed in a literary form; and with reference to them we have only to guard against the probability of oral communication. We know nothing to justify the belief that nursery tales might have been transmitted from India to Europe from mouth to mouth; but we must guard carefully against the possibility of their having travelled even orally in a contrary direction. Any coincidence which admits of the supposition of foreign Muhammadan, or Portuguese, or English influences, may at once be set aside as explainable in this way.

Perhaps the most remarkable coincidence to be found in the whole range of folk tales is that between the old Saxon nursery tale of *The Woman that Found a Silver Penny*, the Hindu child's story of *The Little Bird that found a Pea*, and *Moorachug and Meenachug*, which Campbell describes as "the best known of all the Gaelic Tales." This coincidence was noticed in the *Bombay Gazette* many years ago, and subsequently in the *Englishman*, but has not, to our knowledge, attracted attention out of this country. It is rendered the more remarkable by the peculiar construction which is preserved in all three tales; and it extends not only to the plot, but more or less to the personages concerned and the functions they are called in to perform. In the Saxon story the stick is brought in to beat the pig at the very commencement, and in the Hindu, when the plot has advanced several steps, to beat the snake; in both fire follows, to burn the stick; in both water comes next, to quench the fire; while in the Saxon the ox, and in the Hindu the elephant, is then brought in to drink up the water (in the latter case the sea). Where the persons are different in the two stories, the reason is obvious. The ox and the butcher to kill it, would have been no better adapted to Hindu ideas, than the elephant to Saxon experience. The Hindu version has received the highest development, and is not only much more elaborate, but more artistic, than the Saxon, including a rhyme for each step, which is looked upon by the little hearers as the best part of the story. The Gaelic version seems to have been a good deal corrupted. The story itself, in all three versions, is evidently intended for the amusement of children only—a circumstance which has no doubt contributed to its singularly perfect preservation. We do not think that even the ingenuity of Mr. Cox could attribute to it a mythical signification.

The Hindu story is too remarkable not to be repeated. It runs as follows :—

Once upon a time a little bird, on its way through the woods, picked up a pea, and took it to the *barbhunja* to be split ; but, as ill luck would have it, one half of it stuck fast in the socket of the mill-handle, and the *barbhunja* being unable to get it out, the little bird went off to the carpenter, and said, "Carpenter, carpenter, come and cut the mill-handle ; my pea is in the mill-handle ; what shall I eat ? what shall I drink ; and what shall I take to foreign countries ? " "Be off," said the carpenter, "is it likely I shall come and cut the mill-handle for the sake of a single pea ? "

Then the bird went to the king, and said, "King, king, chide the carpenter ; the carpenter won't cut the mill-handle ; my pea has stuck in the mill-handle ; what shall I eat ? what shall I drink ? and what shall I take to foreign countries ? (*Kya khawen ; kya piwen ; kya leke pardesh jawen ?*) " "Be off with you," said the king, "do you think that for the sake of a single pea I am coming to chide the carpenter ? "

Then the little bird went to the queen, and said, "Queen, queen, speak to the king ; the king won't chide the carpenter ; the carpenter won't cut the mill-handle ; my pea is in the socket of the mill-handle ; what shall I eat ? what shall I drink ? and what shall I take to foreign countries ? " But the queen said, "Be off with you ; "do you think that for the sake of a single pea I am going to talk to the king ? "

Then the little bird went to the snake, and said, "Snake, snake, bite the queen ; the queen won't talk to the king ; the king won't chide the carpenter ; the carpenter won't cut the mill-handle ; my pea is in the socket of the mill-handle ; what shall I eat ? what shall I drink ? and what shall I take to foreign countries ? " But the snake said, "Be off with you ; do you think that for sake of a single pea I am going to bite the queen ? "

Then the little bird went to the stick, and said, "Stick, stick, beat the snake ; snake won't bite queen ; queen won't talk to king ; king won't chide carpenter ; carpenter won't cut mill-handle ; my pea is in the socket of the mill-handle ; what shall I eat ? what shall I drink ? and what shall I take to foreign countries ? " But the stick said, "Be off with you ; do you think that for the sake of a single pea I am going to beat the snake ? "

Then the little bird went to the fire, and said, "Fire, fire, burn stick ; stick won't beat snake ; snake won't bite queen ; queen won't talk to king ; king won't chide carpenter ; carpenter won't cut mill-handle ; my pea is in the socket of the mill-handle ; what shall I eat ? what shall I drink ? and what shall I take to foreign countries ? " But the fire said, "Be off with you ; do you think that for the sake of a single pea I am going to burn the stick ? "

Then the little bird went to the sea, and said "Sea, sea, quench fire; fire won't burn stick; stick won't beat snake; snake won't bite queen; queen won't talk to king; king won't chide carpenter; carpenter won't cut mill-handle; my pea is in the socket of the mill-handle; what shall I eat? what shall I drink? and what shall I take to foreign countries?" But the sea said, "Be off with you; do you think that for the sake of a single pea, I am going to quench the fire?"

Then the little bird went to the elephant, and said, "Elephant, elephant, dry up the sea; sea won't quench fire; fire won't burn stick; stick won't beat snake; snake won't bite queen; queen won't talk to king; king won't chide carpenter; carpenter won't cut mill-handle; my pea is in the socket of the mill-handle; what shall I eat? what shall I drink? and what shall I take to foreign countries?" But the elephant said, "Be off with you; to dry up the sea, would take the whole host of elephants; do you think that for the sake of a single pea I am going to assemble all the elephants?"

Then the bird went to the *bhaunr* (a tangled creeping plant), and said, "*Bhaunr*, *bhaunr*, snare the elephant; elephant won't drink up sea; sea won't quench fire; fire won't burn stick; stick won't beat snake; snake won't bite queen; queen won't talk to king; king won't chide carpenter; carpenter won't cut mill-handle; my pea is in the socket of the mill-handle; what shall I eat? what shall I drink? and what shall I take to foreign countries?" But the *bhaunr* said, "Be off with you; do you think that for the sake of a single pea I am going to snare the elephant?"

Then the bird went to the mouse, and said, "Mouse, mouse, cut the *bhaunr*; *bhaunr* won't snare elephant; elephant won't drink up sea; sea won't quench fire; fire won't burn stick; stick won't beat snake; snake won't bite queen; queen won't talk to king; king won't chide carpenter; carpenter won't cut mill-handle; my pea is in the socket of the mill-handle; what shall I eat? what shall I drink? and what shall I take to foreign countries?" But the mouse said, "Be off with you; do you think that for the sake of a single pea, I am going to cut the *bhaunr*?"

Then the bird went to the cat, and said, "Cat, cat, eat mouse; mouse won't cut *bhaunr*; *bhaunr* won't snare elephant; elephant won't drink up sea; sea won't quench fire; fire won't burn stick; stick won't beat snake; snake won't bite queen; queen won't talk to king; king won't chide carpenter; carpenter won't cut mill-handle; my pea is in the socket of the mill-handle; what shall I eat? what shall I drink? and what shall I take to foreign countries?" And the cat said, "By all means; the mouse is my natural prey; why should I not eat it?"

So the cat went to eat the mouse, and the mouse went to cut the *bhaunr*, saying :—

Hamko khao, a,o, mat koi,
Ham bhaunr ko kátat loi.

“Oh ! eat, oh ! eat me no one, I will take and cut the *bhaunr*.” And the *bhaunr* went to snare the elephant, saying “Oh ! cut, oh ! cut me no one, I’ll take and snare the elephant.”* And so on with each one, till it came to the carpenter, who extracted the pea, which the bird took and went away rejoicing.

The story of the Silver Penny we need hardly quote, and the Gaelic version of Moorachug and Meenachug, which is half as long again as the Hindi version, with similar repetitions, would take up more space than we can spare for it. We must refer the reader for it to Campbell’s *Tales of the West Highlands*. The personages are the rod, the axe, the stone, water, the deer, the dog, butter, the mouse, the cat, the cow, milk, a whisp from the gillie, a bonnach, water again, the sieve and brown clay and moss.

We decline to believe that the similarity between these tales, especially between the Saxon and the Hindu version, is explicable by chance ; inter-communication is practically out of the question ; and we are compelled to conclude that we have in these, if in any, stories different versions of a nursery tale which belonged to our common Aryan forefathers. We will not speculate on the age of this story ; probably it is the oldest composition we possess.

The story we have just given is one of a class intended exclusively to be told to very young children. A stage removed from the lullaby, it contains no religious element, and has thus escaped one fruitful source of corruption. The machinery is supernatural only so far as speech is attributed to brute animals and inanimate objects. This class of tales is particularly valuable for the purposes of comparison. Unfortunately, it is as difficult of access as it is valuable.

We can hardly expect to find in this infant lore many such remarkable coincidences as that between *The old Woman that found a Silver Penny* and *The little Bird that found a Pea* ; but the subject is one worth enquiring into ; and we may have more to say about it another time.

The more ambitious nursery stories, which in the East are told as much for the amusement of grown-up people as of children, obviously arrange themselves in two categories, those in which the machinery is supernatural, and those in which it is natural. The great majority of the older stories are of the former description. We may not unfrequently learn something of the age of

* The rhyme is repeated with the appropriate change at each step.

those stories from the nature of the supernatural machinery employed in them. The ancient Aryans not only had no Devil, as Grimm has pointed out; but they had no *jinns* or *ifreets*; and their giants were simply human beings of enormous size and strength, but generally of small wits, those old friends of our childhood whom Boots generally got the better of. The *jinns* and *ifreets* are probably Semitic, and the host of demons of various shape, form, and character, whom we find in a certain class of Hindu stories, are either non-Aryan or of comparatively modern invention.

One of the few stories the Indian and European versions of which have been compared, is that of Cinderella. The English version is probably well known to most of our readers. The following, from the Gaelic, is given by Campbell.

The Sharp, Grey Sheep.

There was a king and a queen, and they had a daughter, and the queen found death, and the king married another. And the last queen was bad to the daughter of the first queen, and she used to beat her and put her out of the door. She sent her to herd the sheep, and was not giving her what should suffice her. And there was a sharp (horned) grey sheep in the flock that was coming with meat to her.

The queen was taking wonder that she was keeping alive, and that she was not getting meat enough from herself, and she told it to the henwife. The henwife thought that she would send her own daughter to watch how she was getting meat, and Ni Mhool Charach, the henwife's daughter, went to herd the sheep with the queen's daughter. The sheep would not come to her so long as Ni Mhool Charach was there, and Ni Mhool Charach was staying all the day with her. The queen's daughter was longing for her meat, and she said "Set thy head on my knee, and I will dress thy hair." And Ni Mhool Charach set her head on the knee of the queen's daughter, and she slept.

The sheep came with the meat to the queen's daughter, but the eye that was in the back of the head of the bald black-skinned girl, the henwife's daughter, was open, and she saw all that went on; and when she awoke, she went home, and told it to her mother, and the henwife told it to the queen, and when the queen understood how the girl was getting meat, nothing at all would serve her but the sheep should be killed.

The sheep came to the queen's daughter and said to her,

"They are going to kill me, but steal thou my skin, and gather my bones and roll them in my skin, and I will come alive again, and I will come to thee again."

The sheep was killed, and the queen's daughter stole her skin, and she gathered her bones and her hoofs and she rolled

them in the skin; but she forgot its little hoofs. The sheep came alive again, but she was lame. She came to the king's daughter with a halting step, and she said, "Thou didst as I desired thee, but thou hast forgotten the little hoofs."

And she was keeping her in meat after that.

There was a young prince who was hunting and coming often past her, and he saw how pretty she was, and he asked, "Who's she?" and they told him, and he took love for her, and he was often coming the way; but the bald black-skinned girl, the henwife's daughter, took notice of him, and she told it to her mother, and the henwife told it to the queen.

The queen was wishful to get knowledge what man it was, and the henwife sought till she found out who he was, and she told the queen. When the queen heard who it was, she was wishful to send her own daughter in his way, and she brought in the first queen's daughter, and she let her own daughter to herd in her place, and she was making the daughter of the first queen do the cooking and every service about the house.

The first queen's daughter was out a turn, and the prince met her and gave her a pair of golden shoes. And he was wishful to see her at the sermon, but her muime would not let her go there.

But when the rest would go, she would make ready, and she would go after them, and she would sit where he might see her, but she would rise and go before the people would scatter, and she would be at the house and every thing in order before her muime would come. But the third time she was there, the prince was wishing to go with her, and he sat near the door, and when she went, he was keeping an eye on her, and he rose and went after her. She was running home, and she lost one of her shoes in the mud; and he got the shoe, and because he could not see her, he said that the one who had the foot that would fit the shoe was the wife that would be his. The queen was wishful that the shoe should fit her own daughter, and she put the daughter of the first queen in hiding, so that she should not be seen till she should try if the shoe would fit her own daughter.

When the prince came to try the shoe on her, her foot was too big, but she was very anxious that the shoe should fit her, and she spoke to the henwife about it. The henwife cut the points of her toes off that the shoe might fit her, and the shoe went on her when the points of the toes were cut.

When the wedding day came, the daughter of the first queen was set in hiding in a nook that was behind the fire.

When the people were all gathered together, a bird came to the window, and he cried, "The blood's in the shoe, and the pretty foot is in the nook at the back of the fire." One of them

said, "What is that creature saying?" And the queen said, "It's no matter what that creature is saying; it is but a nasty, beaky, lying creature." The bird came again to the window, and the third time he came, the prince said, "We will go and see what he is saying;" and he rose and he went out, and the bird cried, "The blood's in the shoe, and the pretty foot is in the nook that is at the back of the fire."

He returned in, and he ordered the nook at the back of the fire to be searched, and they searched it, and they found the first queen's daughter there, and the golden shoe on the one foot. She cleaned the blood out of the other shoe, and they tried it on her, and the shoe fitted her, and its like was on the other foot. The prince left the daughter of the last queen, and he married the daughter of the first queen, and he took her from them with him, and she was rich and lucky after that.

The Indian version has been published in the *Bombay Gazette*. It is too long to reprint here, but its similarity to this Gaelic version is remarkable. In the version we refer to it is a cow, (and in another version, evidently to avoid offending Hindu prejudice, a fish) that takes care of Cinderella. It is impossible, we think, to compare the following passage with the corresponding one in the Gaelic, without concluding that the coincidence is something more than fortuitous.

'When Cinderella's step-mother learned that the cow was feeding her daughter with its milk, she determined to have it slaughtered. The cow, having learned this, said one day to Cinderella, "My poor child, this is the last time you will drink my milk; your step-mother is going to have me slaughtered. Do not cry, or fret for me; there is no help for it; slaughtered I shall be. One thing only I have to request of you; and if you mind that, I shall still be of endless service to you." Then the little girl began to weep bitterly and choke with grief; and as soon as she could compose herself enough to speak, she begged the cow to tell her what she had to request. Then the cow said, "My request is this; when they kill me, carefully gather up my bones, horns, skin, and all that they throw away, and bury them; and, above all things, whatever may happen, eat not of my flesh." * * *

The next morning the cow was slaughtered; and the little girl carefully gathered up all the bones, and the horns, and the blood, and skin, and whatever she could get hold of, and buried them.'

In this story too we have the incident of the king's son wanting a wife; of Cinderella being left at home to cook the supper while her stepsister goes to the palace; then the cow comes to life and decks her out in fine clothes and golden clogs, one of which she drops in the road when the prince pursues her. And then, when the

prince comes to look for her, and she is hidden in the loft, a cock betrays her presence, and the prince has her brought out and marries her. The story, however, does not end where the Gaelic ends, but goes on to tell of the terrible retribution that overtook the step-mother and her daughter.

Mr. Cox has compared the Norse tale, given by Dasent, of *The Giant who had no Heart in his Body* with Miss Frere's Hindu story of Punchkin.*

* "In the latter a rajah has seven daughters, whose mother dies while they are still children, and a step-mother so persecutes them that they make their escape. In the jungle they are found by the seven sons of a neighbouring king, who are hunting; and each takes one of the princesses as a wife, the handsomest of course marrying the youngest. After a brief time of happiness, the eldest prince sets off on a journey, and does not return. His six brothers follow him, and are seen no more. After this, as Balna, the youngest princess, rocks her babe in its cradle, a faqir makes his appearance, and having vainly asked her to marry him, transforms her into a dog and leads her away. As he grows older, Balna's son learns how his parents and uncles have disappeared, and resolves to go in search of them. His aunts beseech him not to do so; but the youth feels sure that he will bring them all back, and at length he finds his way to the house of a gardener, whose wife, on hearing his story, tells him that his father and uncles have all been turned into stone by the great magician Punchkin, who keeps Balna herself imprisoned in a high tower because she will not marry him. To aid him in his task, the gardener's wife disguises him in her daughter's dress, and gives him a basket of flowers as a present for the captive princess. Thus arrayed, the youth is admitted to her presence, and while none are looking, he makes himself known to his mother by means of a ring which she had left on his finger before the sorcerer stole her away. But the rescue of the seven princes seemed to be as far off as ever, and the young man suggests that Balna should now change her tactics, and by playing the part of Delilah to Samson, find out where his power lies, and whether he is subject to death. The device is successful, and the sorcerer betrays the secret.

'Far away, far away, hundreds of thousands of miles away from this, there lies a desolate country covered with thick jungle. In the midst of the jungle grows a circle of palm trees, and in the centre of the jungle stand six jars full of water, piled one above another, below the sixth jar is a small cage which contains a little green parrot; on the life of the parrot depends my life, and if the parrot is killed, I must die.'

But this keep is guarded by myriads of evil demons, and Balna tries hard to dissuade her son from the venture. He is resolute, and he finds true helpers in some eagles whose young he saves by killing a large serpent which was making its way to their nest. The parent birds give him their young to be his servants, and the eaglets, crossing their wings, bear him through the air to the spot where the six water-jars are standing. In an instant he upsets the jar, and snatching the parrot from his cage, rolls him up in his cloak. The magician in his dismay at seeing the parrot in the youth's hands yields to every demand made by him, and not only the seven princes but all his other victims are restored to life—a magnificent array of kings, courtiers, officers, and servants. Still the magician prayed to have his parrot given to him.

'Then the boy took hold of the parrot and tore off one of his wings, and when he did so, the magician's right arm fell off. Punchkin then stretched out his left arm, crying, Give me my parrot. The prince pulled off the

There is another Hindu story, the "key-note" of which is the same as that of Punchkin and the Norse tale. In it, again, we have seven sleepers, daughters of a king, in the power of seven giants, whose lives are not in their bodies; and it is one of two brothers who rescues them; but he does not set out, as in the other stories, with that intent. It is extremely probable, indeed, that part of this story has been wrongly joined with part of

parrot's second wing, and the magician's left arm tumbled off. Give me my parrot, cried he, and fell on his knees. The prince pulled off the parrot's right leg, the magician's right leg fell off; the prince pulled off the parrot's left leg, down fell the magician's left. Nothing now remained of him save the limbless body and the head; but still he rolled his eyes, and cried, Give me my parrot. Take your parrot then, cried the boy; and with that he wrung the bird's neck, and threw it at the magician, and as he did so, Punchkin twisted round, and with a fearful groan he died.'

In its key-note and its leading incidents this story is precisely parallel to the Norse tale of the Giant who had no Heart in his Body.' Here, as in the Deccan legend, there is a king who has seven sons, but instead of all seven being sent to hunt or woo, the youngest is left at home; and the rajah whose children they marry has six daughters, not seven. This younger brother who stays at home is the Boots of European folk-lore * * * * and acts the part of Balna's son in the Hindu story, while the sorcerer reappears in the Norse tale as a giant who turns the six princes and their wives into stone. * * * Boots succours a raven, a salmon and a wolf, and the latter having devoured his horse bears him on its back with the speed of lightning to the house of the giant who has turned his brothers into stone. Then he finds, not his mother, like Balna's son, but the beautiful princess who is to be his bride, and who promises to find out, if she can, where the giant keeps his heart, for, wherever it be, it is not in his body. The colloquies which lead at length to the true answer exhibit the giant in the more kindly and rollicking character frequently bestowed on trolls, dwarfs, elves and demons in the mythology of the Western Aryans. The final answer corresponds precisely to that of Punchkin. 'Far, far away in a lake lies an island; on that island stands a church; in that church is a well, in that well swims a duck; in that duck there is an egg, and in that egg there lies my heart, you darling.' His darling takes a tender farewell of Boots, who sets off on the wolf's back, to solve, as in the Eastern tale, the mystery of the water and the bird. The wolf takes him to the island; but the church keys hang high on the steeple, and the raven is now brought in to perform an office analogous to that of the young eaglets in the Deccan legend. At last, by the salmon's help, the egg is brought from the bottom of the well where the duck had dropped it.

'Then the wolf told him to squeeze the egg, and as soon as ever he squeezed it, the giant screamed out. Squeeze it again, said the wolf; and when the prince did so, the giant screamed still more piteously, and begged and prayed so prettily to be spared, saying he would do all that the prince wished if he would only not squeeze his heart in two. Tell him if he will restore to life again your six brothers and their brides, you will spare his life, said the wolf. Yes, the giant was ready to do that, and he turned the six brothers into king's sons again, and their brides into king's daughters. Now, squeeze the egg in two, said the wolf, so Boots squeezed the egg to pieces, and the giant burst at once.' Cox's *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, pp. 136-142.

another, an accident which often happens to this species of literature.

There are two brothers, the younger of whom dies in poverty, leaving his two children and their mother to the care of his wealthier brother, who soon gets tired of supporting them and turns them out of doors. During their wanderings, the younger of the children, whose name is Azíz, finds a ruby in a stream, which attracts the attention of a jeweller to whom the boy goes to beg. The jeweller is astonished at the value of the stone, and undertakes to support the entire family, if the boy gives it up to him. The king purchases the ruby and presents it to his eldest daughter, who has it set in a bracelet. While she is bathing, she overhears a parrot say to a maina, "Do you see anything unusual? How beautiful the king's daughter looks to-day." "Ah!" replied the maina, "but how much more beautiful she would look, if she wore the fellow to that ruby!" The king's daughter shuts herself up in "the room of anger," and refuses to eat or drink till she obtains the fellow to the ruby. The jeweller is accordingly sent for, and a certain time granted him to procure the ruby under pain of death. Azíz, on being acquainted with the misfortune that has befallen his protector, undertakes to go and bring the ruby. Returning to the river, it was not long before he found a ruby like the former one; but, instead of picking it up, he began to look for more.

The story then proceeds as follows:—

'The further he went, the more rubies he saw, till at last he came to the foot of a mountain, from the side of which a stream of blood was pouring into the river; and no sooner did the blood touch the water than it was converted into rubies. When the boy saw this, he made up his mind to find out where the blood came from. So he began to climb the hill, and, when he got to the top and had followed the blood some distance, he saw a long way off a great castle, to which he at once turned his steps. When he reached the castle gate, there was not a soul to be seen in the place; and, as the door was open, he went in, and began to wander through the building, but all the rooms he looked into were empty. At last the stream of blood led him to a room where there was a bed, and on it was sleeping a beautiful girl from whose mouth blood was flowing; and this was the blood which poured down the hill side into the river, and was the source of all the rubies he had seen there. At the head of the bed was a wand of silver, and at its foot a wand of gold. The boy tried hard to wake the girl, and shook her and shouted to her in vain. At last he chanced to take up the wands, and when he put them back, he laid the golden wand at the girl's head and the silver wand at her feet. No sooner had he done

this than the girl woke from her sleep. When she saw the boy by her side, she exclaimed, "O, child! have you no regard for yourself, that you have come in the spring-time of youth, to throw away your life in this place? At any moment the giant may return, and when he sees what has happened, he will put us both to death."

When he heard this, the boy begged the girl to tell him all about the giant, and how she had fallen into his power. Then the girl said, "I am one of seven sisters, the daughters of a king. One day, when we were sitting at home, there came a fearful whirlwind; and, in the midst of the dust and darkness, seven giants came and carried us all off. Each giant took one of us home. As long as the giants are at home, they keep us awake, and when they go out, they throw us into a sleep, as you found me. It wants now but a short time to the giant's return; and if he finds you here, he will kill you. Put me to sleep again as you found me; and go and hide yourself beneath the heap of cotton outside."

Then the boy said, "I will do as you bid me; but mind what I now tell you. When the giant comes home, and you are seated by him, begin to cry; and, when he asks you what is the matter, tell him that you are very anxious lest in his wanderings some one should come upon him and kill him, and you should be left asleep in the castle. Remember what answer he gives you, and tell me to-morrow." Having given her this advice, he went and hid himself in the cotton. Shortly after, the giant came home in a great storm; and, after waking the girl, he began to cry, "Manukh gand! Manukh gand! (smell of man! smell of man!)" The girl said, "Nonsense! I am the only human being here. If you want to eat me up, eat me."

After he had eaten, the giant lay down; and the girl began to rub his hands and feet, and as she did so, she cried, as the boy had told her to do. Then the giant asked her how it was, as he had never seen her cry before. The girl said, "Nothing is the matter; but I cannot help thinking what would be my fate, if when you are out, anything should happen to you." But the giant said, "You need not trouble yourself about that; no one can harm me but Azíz; and he is not yet born." The girl said, "It is strange indeed that you, being a giant, should have anything to fear from a man." Then the giant told her that in a certain room of the castle there was a sword, and that when Azíz came and took that sword and cut in two the betel-nut tree that grew by the side of the tank, he would die, for his life was in the betel nut-tree.

The next day, the giant put her to sleep and went out as usual; and, after he had gone, the boy came and woke her as before; and she told him what the giant had said. So Azíz went into the

room where the sword was hanging, and took it down, and the giant knew when Azíz took the sword, and came running home with all his might ; but, as he drew near, Azíz aimed such a blow at the betel tree that he cut it clean in two, and the giant fell down dead at the gate.

Then Azíz went into the girl's room, and brought her out and showed her what he had done. He would have taken her away at once ; but she remembered her six sisters, and, begged him to deliver them too.'

The life of the next giant was in a maina that hung up in a cage in one of the rooms of his castle ; and his death is thus described :—

'When Azíz took down the cage in which the maina was kept and brought it outside, the giant felt that the cage had been moved, and came running with all his might ; and, as he got near, the boy broke one of the maina's legs, and one of the giant's legs was broken, but still he came on limping on the other ; as he got nearer, Azíz broke the maina's other leg, and the giant's other leg was broken ; still he came rolling on upon the stumps ; but when he was an arm's length off, the boy wrung the bird's neck, and the giant fell down dead.'

Azíz took home the seven sisters and married them ; and he also married the king's daughter as his eighth wife.

The two stories we have just given belong to the class which deal with supernatural machinery. As we have already remarked, it is this class which furnishes the greatest number of striking coincidences with European stories ; and of all the tales those in which the giant proper plays a part, most frequently agree. The agreement, however, is not confined to this class.

One of the most popular of the tales current among the Muhammadans of India is that of *Harámzádah* and *Halálzádah*. There is considerable variation in different versions of it, but all are more or less comparable with the story of *Mac a Rusgaich* given by Campbell. If our readers will take the trouble to compare that somewhat prolix composition with the following, we think they will find a series of coincidences hardly attributable to chance.

'There were two brothers, *Halálzádah* and *Harámzádeh*. In the same country there was a Qázi. *Halálzádah* went to the Qazi to seek service. The Qazi said, "If you take service with me, it must be on the condition that if you leave me, I shall cut off your nose and ears ; and if I turn you away, you shall do the like by me ; and your daily meal shall be one leaf-ful."

Halálzádah agreed to this, and entered his service. Every day the Qazi gave him the cows and the goats to graze, and gave him a tamarind leaf-ful for his meal. This did not satisfy *Halálzádah*, and he told the Qazi that he could not work on an empty

stomach. But the Qazi merely replied that if he did not like it, he might leave. At last Halálzadah, when he had spent all his own money and began to starve, went and asked for his discharge. Thereupon the Qazi took a knife, and cut off his nose and ears; and he went his way.

His brother Harámzadah saw him and asked him the cause of his pitiful condition, whereupon Halálzadah told him how the Qazi had served him. Harámzadah said, "Show me the Qazi's house, and I will go to him."

Halálzadah told him the way; and he went to the Qazi, and asked him whether he was in want of a servant. The Qazi told him he required a servant, and he made the same conditions with him as with his brother.

Then the Qazi gave him the cows and goats to graze. Harámzadah grazed the cows and goats, and brought them home, and went into the garden and got a plantain leaf, and, taking it to the Qazi, asked for his dinner. The Qazi gave him a plantain leafful; and Harámzadah took the cattle out again to graze, and he killed one of the goats and called together his friends and made a feast; and he brought the rest of the cattle home again.

The next day, in the morning, Harámzadah took out the cattle to graze again, and sold a dozen of the goats and four of the cows, and, running home to the Qazi, said, "God is merciful, that He saved my life to day!" "How so?" said the Qazi. "The wolves came and carried off twelve goats and four cows, and I saved myself only by climbing up a tree."

The Qazi abused him, and asked where he took the cattle to graze. He said, "To the west;" and the Qazi told him to take them in future to the north. Harámzadah went into the garden and got a plantain leaf, and having got it filled, ate as much as he could, and gave the rest to the beggars. Then he went and took out the goats and cows to the north to graze.

This time he sold them all, and ran home to his master and said, "Qazi, jí! Qazi, jí! a pretty order you gave me, to take the cattle to the north!" "What has happened?" said the Qazi. "Why! when I took the cattle to the north, a herd of tigers came and carried them off, and I only saved myself by hiding in a cave in the mountain."

The next day the Qazi told him to take out a certain horse, and give it a walk. Harámzadah took out the horse, and, as he was going along, he met a horse dealer, and agreed to sell it him on condition that he should cut off the tail; so he cut off the tail, and went home and stuck it in a rat hole in the stable, and beat down the earth about it to make it tight.

Then he went to the Qazi, and the Qazi asked him whether he had carried out his orders. Harámzadah replied that he had

walked the horse out, and brought it home again and put it in the stable. Then he got his meal, a plantain leaf-ful, as usual.

The next morning, Harámzadah ran to the Qazi, beating his breast, and saying, "O Qazi, come to the stable and see what a misfortune has happened; the rats are carrying off the horse; only half his tail is left out of the hole; make haste, make haste, or they will drag down the whole of it." Then the Qazi ran to the stable, and tugged and tugged at the tail till it came out of the hole, but no horse with it! and Harámzadah told him the rats must have eaten the rest.'

In short the Qazi is completely ruined, and, what is worse, his family are dishonoured by Harámzadah, who finally gets his discharge along with his master's nose and ears. Some of the incidents of the story are wholly unfit for translation, and one of the versions of *Mac a Rusgaich* is in this respect not much better.

Want of space prohibits our giving at present more than these few examples of the wealth of material for comparison, which will reward the enquirer who may be curious enough to study the popular tales of India; but we hope we have given enough to show that any one with the requisite time, patience, and knowledge of European folk-lore, might, by taking up the subject, furnish an important contribution to the literature of Comparative Storiology.

ART. VI.—FRENCH COCHIN-CHINA AND THE EXPLORATION OF THE MEKONG.

1. *Exploration du Mekong.* Par M. L.-M. de Carné. *Revue des deux Mondes.* 1869-70.
2. *Cochin-Chine Française et Royaume de Cambodge.* Par M. Ch. Lemire.

LIKE the English, the French have recently essayed the task of opening out a communication between their Indo-Chinese possessions and the south-western provinces of China. The circumstances under which the two expeditions were set on foot, were characteristic of the two peoples. On our side the explorations were commenced only after repeated and urgent solicitations from mercantile bodies, which solicitations were responded to in a very lukewarm and dilatory manner by the Government. The French expedition on the other hand was initiated by the Imperial government, and it was zealously undertaken at the earliest possible moment. The national peculiarities, however, which marked the inception, did not continue to characterize the progress and conclusion of the two enterprises. The perseverance and hardihood with which English geographical explorations are generally conducted, and the success with which they are consequently crowned, form a strong contrast to the incomplete, though showy, attempts of the French to distinguish themselves in the same direction. But in the case of the recent expeditions to south-western China, the position of the two nations has been completely reversed; and that too, although the difficulties encountered by the British were immeasurably less than those which were overcome by the French expedition. The British expedition started from Bhamaw with the intention of penetrating to Talifoo, the capital of the Yunan Musalmans. The extreme point it attained was Momien, only 122 miles east of Bhamaw, and on the outskirts of Yunan. Starting from Saigon in 1° north-latitude, the French succeeded in reaching Talifoo in 25° north-latitude. At or about the very time that the well-equipped British expedition turned their backs upon Yunan, in despair of safely reaching the town which was the goal of their journey, three or four French officers with half a dozen native attendants had actually reached that town. The British expedition has been barren of results, and the report of its leader lies buried in the archives of a Government office. The programme laid down for the French expedition was carried through to a successful conclusion, and a full and complete record of its labours and discoveries is now being prepared under the auspices of the Imperial government. The completion of this work has been retarded by the untimely

death of M. de Lagrée, the gallant leader of the expedition; but in the meantime some sketches of what has been accomplished have been published, and contain much interesting information regarding regions but little known, and some of which have never been traversed by a European since the days of Marco Polo.

About eight hundred years ago, the great kingdom of Cambodia, or Cambodge, extended from Tonquin to the Gulf of Siam, and from 8° to 15° degrees north-latitude, embracing the present kingdoms of Siam and Annam as well as the French possessions on the sea-board. Chinese history relates that in 1076 A.D. the Emperor of China deigned to solicit the assistance of the king of Cambodia, or Chinla, to subjugate Tonquin; and Siamese annals tell how their country was for ages subject to the yoke of the king of Kamphoxa, until Phra-Ruang liberated his countrymen who thenceforward were known as *Thai*, i.e. freemen. In our fifteenth century the old Portuguese voyagers found Cambodia still a maritime state. It was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that the king of Annam seized the sea-board provinces, which after two centuries of Annamite dominion have now passed into the hands of the French. It was from the Portuguese that Europe first heard of Cambodia or Cambodge, and by this name the country has been known to western nations ever since. It is taken from the classic Pali name given to the country by the Siamese, viz. Kam-bawya. It is unknown to the present inhabitants of the country, who call themselves *Khmer* and their country *Sroc-Khmer*. For the last two centuries the Khmers, wedged in between two greedy neighbours, the Annamites on the one side and the Siamese on the other, have had a very precarious national existence, and to save the remnant of his country from sharing the fate of Poland, the king has now placed himself under French protection. The Cambodia of to-day lies to the north of the six provinces which the French have wrested from Annam, and occupies with regard to them much the same position as the kingdom of Burmah does to Pegu. It contains a settled population which is estimated at less than a million souls.

At the time of the French conquest of Saigon, Siamese policy was all powerful at Houdon, the Cambodian capital. The reigning monarch, Norodom, had been placed on the throne by the aid of a Siamese army, the price of such aid being the relinquishment in favour of Siam of his sovereignty over the two provinces of Campong-Sway and Pursah. A Siamese general and diplomatist, Phnea-rat by name, was left at Houdon to watch over the young king, and to maintain the claims of the Court at Bangkok to the supreme sovereignty over Cambodia. With this old man the French officials speedily entered into the lists of diplomatic strife. Having wrested by force of arms the mouths of

the Cambodia river from Tu-duc the Annamite king in 1862, Admiral de La Grandière was not slow to perceive that the key of the delta of the Mekong was held by a power still nominally independent, but rapidly falling into the power of Siam. Siam, moreover, was believed to be acting under English counsels "The moment was decisive," writes M. Carné. "The English, though they have plenty of elbow room in India, saw their designs thwarted by our presence in the empire of Annam. The fear with which they inspired the Court of Siam, long prevented that Court from granting to European nations the privilege of having a consul at Bangkok. The English have now great influence with the Siamese Government, and they would have considered it a true political success to have induced king Phra-Maha-Mongkat to annex Cambodia. We know too well the motives which underlie the affection exhibited by England for her dependants, to believe in the disinterestedness of her solicitude for the aggrandizement of Siam. Her past brilliant successes justify her dreams of the future; she is irritated at finding in her path the rivals whom she thought she had for ever banished from Asia. From Moulmein she keeps an eye on Bangkok, and being unable at present to get at Cambodia, she has no objection to enrich a friend to whose estate she will one day succeed." Acting under the insidious advice of England therefore, as M. Carné believes, the Kalahom declared boldly to the commandant of the *Korbin*, that the king of Cambodia was but a vassal of Siam; that he had no right to treat with us, and that his interest could only be dealt with at Bangkok. The Kalahom was then officially informed that the pretended vassalage of the king of Cambodia had never been recognized by France, who had resolved upon making a treaty direct with Cambodia."

Notwithstanding the strenuous exertions of Phnea-rat to prevent it, the French officials entered into communication with king Norodom. The gunboat *Gyadinh*, of which M. de Lagrée was the commandant, paid a visit to the capital. Phnea-rat's claims to be the medium of communication with the king were studiously ignored. About this time a conspiracy against the king, headed by his brother Phra-keo-gea, was discovered, and Phnea-rat carried off the prince to Bangkok to undergo penance in a monastery. Taking advantage of the absence of Phnea-rat, Admiral de La Grandière visited Houdon, and induced the king to sign a treaty of nineteen articles, in which the protectorate (a word which the French candidly admit they were unable to explain in Cambodian) of France over Cambodia was solemnly recognized. The wily Siamese, however, was not yet conquered. Hurrying back from Bangkok, he frightened or cajoled the king into signing another solemn treaty, in which his vassalage to Siam was acknowledged. The existence

of this treaty was not communicated to the French, nor was it suspected by them until they saw it quoted some months afterwards in a Singapore newspaper. One of the motives which induced Norodom to consent to the Siamese treaty, was the offer to restore to him the Cambodian crown which had been taken away to Bangkok. This symbol of authority is looked upon with superstitious reverence in Cambodia, and its possession consequently was much coveted by Norodom. It was even suggested that the king of Siam might deign to honour him so far as to place the crown upon his head with his own hands. The king of Siam being regarded in Cambodia as in some measure the head of the Buddhist Church, such a step would have been satisfactory to Norodom, and eminently so to Siam, as being a visible sign of the dependence of Cambodia. M. de Lagrée, who had become the French representative at Houdon, was willing that Norodom should be crowned, but not by the hands of the king of Siam. Norodom at last started for Bangkok to be crowned there. The moment was decisive. M. de Lagrée, making the presence of some Siamese soldiers in Houdon the excuse, brought up a small French force, planted the French flag in the capital, and saluted it with 21 guns. This bold step had the desired effect. Norodom saw that his crown would be of little use without his kingdom, and he immediately returned. The Siamese perceived that they were checkmated, and the king, making a virtue of necessity, voluntarily restored the Cambodian crown. The crown was handed by a Siamese official to M. Desmoulin, who again handed it over to Norodom to be placed by himself upon his own head, after the fashion of Napoleon at Notre Dame. In return for the Siamese king's complacency, the French acknowledged the title of the Siamese to the provinces of Battam-bang and Angkor, and the protectorate of the French emperor over Cambodia became an accomplished fact.

Before describing the advance of the French exploring expedition into the *terra incognita* of the Upper Mekong, we will take a rapid survey of the present condition of the new French colony which served as their *point du depart*. The latest work on the subject is *Cochin-chine Française et Royaume de Cambodge*, by M. C. Lemire, who styles himself "*Chevalier de l'ordre royal du Cambodge*."

Previous to 1859 the emperor of Annam, who reigned at Huè, held undisputed sway over the vast littoral provinces extending from the Gulf of Tonquin to that of Siam, with a coast line of upwards of a thousand miles to the east and south, and was moreover the nominal lord paramount over the Cambodians and other cognate tribes of Laos origin on the west of the Mekong. His only independent neighbours were China on the north and Siam

on the west. The population of his empire was estimated at from fifteen to twenty millions, a heterogeneous collection of Annamites, Chams or Tsiams, Chinese, Cambodians, Malays, Laotians, and various wild tribes whose names even are as yet unknown to Europeans. The Annamites are of Chinese origin, and asserted their independence of the Chinese Empire only about four and a half centuries ago. In education, written language, literature and religion, they are still Chinese. They are divided into Tonquinese and Cochin-Chinese. The Chams or Tsiams are the relics of an old Malay kingdom which existed at the south-east corner of the Annamite peninsula, until it was swept away by the wave of Annamite conquest. They are now scattered over lower Cochin-China and Cambodia. All the tribes which are not of Annamite, Malay or unknown extraction, belong to the Laos family, of which the Cambodians, Shans and Siamese are the most prominent members. They all possess a common sacred literature in Pali, a language which is unknown to the Buddhist of Annamite origin.

The French, when they resolved to appropriate a portion of the Annamite emperor's dominions, wisely confined themselves to the sea-board provinces at the southern extremity of the empire, where the population is less attached to the reigning dynasty, and where the delta of the Mekong offers greater facilities for extension of intercourse with the neighbouring people than can be found in the central provinces, which are hemmed in between the Annamite range and the sea. The French occupation of the six provinces was effected gradually. Saigon was occupied in February 1859 by Admiral Regault de Genouilly. The three western provinces of Vinhlong, Chandoc and Hatien were not finally annexed by Admiral de La Grandière until June 1867. The "colony," as the French term it, is itself in its infancy, but its progress under the vigorous administration of naval and military officers has been rapid. The six provinces or districts into which it is divided, extend in a parallel direction north-west and south-east from the Cambodian frontier to the sea. The most eastern province, Bienhoa, borders on Annam; west of it come the provinces of Saigon, Mitho, Vinhlong, Chandoc and Hatien. An arbitrary line on the north separates the colony from the protected kingdom of Cambodia; to the west it is bounded by the Gulf of Siam, and on the south by the China Sea. It comprises an area of 33,600 square miles, and in 1867 contained a population of 1,204,287 inhabitants, exclusive of the French naval and military forces, which number 10,000.

French Cochin-China and the Anglo-Burman province of Pegu possess many points of resemblance. Their area is about the same, and each lies athwart the delta of a mighty river. The

of each is Indo-Chinese. Their religion is the same. The natural productions are similar; the advantages, if there are any, perhaps are on the side of the French possession—its rice-producing alluvial plains are of wider extent than those of Pegu, and its proximity to China enables it to attract a plentiful stream of immigrants from that country. On the other hand the Irrawaddy as a navigable river appears to be superior to the Mekong.

Our acquisition of Pegu dates from 1853. The French colony was not established till 1860, and did not attain its present limits till 1867. It is almost too soon, therefore, to institute any useful comparison between the progress of the two provinces, but there seems to be little doubt that when the French colony has attained to the present age of the British province, it will far surpass the latter in point of revenue and population. In the year 1875, the French expect that the revenue of Cochín-China will be 30 millions of francs (£1,200,000.) The revenue of British Burmah, *i.e.* of Pegu together with Arakan and Tenasserim, now amounts to just the same amount. The three eastern districts which up to 1867 composed the French colony, possessed in 1865 an area of 321,102 acres under rice cultivation. Pegu with twice the area of these provinces possessed at a corresponding period after its annexation (1856) only 510,149 acres, and the cultivation has since been increasing as rapidly in Cochín-China as in Pegu. In the area planted with products other than rice, *i.e.* with cotton, tobacco, cocoanuts, mulberry, &c., Cochín-China is already superior to Pegu. The area under such cultivation in Cochín-China amounts to 165,505 acres.

In contrasting the administration of the two provinces, the advantages enjoyed by the French colony are very striking. Whilst British Burmah is but one of many Indian provinces which are expected not only to show an equilibrium between their income and expenditure but to remit an annual tribute to the imperial treasury at Calcutta, Cochín-China can spend all its revenue upon itself, and is not even debited with the cost of the naval and military forces furnished by the mother country for its protection. This amounts to an annual subvention of half a millior-sterling. British Burmah is a troublesome bantling, abhorred of Indian Secretaries, profoundly ignorant of its condition and requirements, which are so different from anything within their Indian experience. Cochín-China is a petted child, nurtured with tender care, and regarded with national pride as the foundation of a new "French East Indies." The colony has the immense advantage of having a local Government in reality and not merely in name. It is governed in itself and for itself, and not as an insignificant portion of a great empire adjoining it, but differing from it in race,

language and religion. The Governor of Chandernagore cannot strangle its autonomic development by extending to the delta of the Mekong laws made for the dwellers on the Hooghly. Its magnificent trade can never be jeopardized by the imposition of heavy export duties to supplement a deficiency in the budget of Pondicherry. With these advantages, there can be no doubt that in a few years French Cochinchina will be a more valuable possession, not only than Pegu, which is about equal in extent, but than the whole of British Burmah which has three times its area.

Saigon has been opened as a free port since 1860. Before that year its annual trade was valued at about £40,000. It now amounts in round numbers to £3,000,000 sterling per annum. The only charges incurred by vessels entering the port are very trifling, for light and harbour dues.

Cultivation is stimulated to the very utmost. Waste lands are sold by the State, rent-free for three years, at Rs. 1-4 an acre. The tax on the best rice lands producing two crops a year is less than Rs. 2 per acre. Immigrants are not only welcomed when they come, but energetic measures are taken to attract them to the colony. This ever-flowing tide of immigration checks any tendency to a sudden rise in the price of labour, which would otherwise inevitably follow upon the importation of so much money, and would exercise a paralysing influence upon the industrial development of the country, as has been the case in British Burmah. The price of labour, both skilled and unskilled, both in Saigon and in the provinces, is half what it is in British Burmah.

The town of Saigon has risen with a rapidity surpassing that shown at Rangoon. It can already boast of several public institutions, the like of which might be looked for in vain in the capital of British Burmah. It has a magnificent hospital for natives, erected under the auspices of the Vicar Apostolic, Monseigneur Lefebvre, and supported by the Government at a yearly cost of £2,000. It has a floating dock of iron, launched in 1866. It possesses an admirable botanical and zoological garden, and every year a general provincial exhibition of works of industry and art is held. It is connected by telegraph with the chief towns of the six provinces, as well as with Cap St. Jacques at the mouth of the river.

And whilst attending to the material, the administration have not neglected to take measures for the moral improvement of the people. All the village schools are under Government inspection, and there are sixty *écoles primaires*, where French is taught, and the study of Annamite books written in the Roman alphabet is encouraged. The security of property, especially landed property, enjoyed under French rule is now fully appreciated by the people, and has overcome any patriotic attachment they may

have felt for their former rulers, the Mandarins and *littérati*. M. Lemire remarks :—

‘ Depuis que les inspecteurs des affaires indigènes résident au chef lieu de l’arrondissement qu’ils administrent, au milieu même des populations indigènes, la supériorité de notre mode du gouvernement sur celui des mandarins a pu être reconnue de tous, et ses avantages étendus à tous les points du territoire. C’était là aussi un moyen d’assurer la tranquillité du pays. La suppression des grands mandarins ~~et des~~ ^{et des} ~~tétrés~~, conséquence de notre système, devait faire naître dans cette haute classe dépossédée de ses titres et privilèges abusifs un levain de haine contre nous et reserrer leur attachement intéressé à l’ancienne souveraineté. De là, dans les premiers temps de l’occupation, des entraînements partiels à la révolte, que subirent les basses classes, craintives, ignorantes, habituées à se courber dans le moment sous la loi du plus fort. Ces tentatives furent d’autant plus vite comprimées, comme on l’a vu dans l’insurrection de 1866 que les fonctionnaires, propriétaires, marchands, gens établis, comprennent maintenant leurs véritables intérêts, les défendent sous crainte, dénoncent et livrent eux-mêmes les fauteurs de troubles, et que les communes font elles-mêmes la police du pays avec leur miliciens. Il y a beaucoup à espérer d’un pays et d’un peuple où la propriété foncière est solidement établie et régie par les lois communes, avantage que n’a pas l’Algérie. En Cochín-chine, les Français ont trouvé cette réglementation luttant contre l’arbitraire des chefs et le pouvoir absolu du roi. Ils n’ont eu qu’à la débarrasser de ses entraves. Chacun aujourd’hui peut posséder ; il n’y a plus de distinction de nationalité, de rang, de privilèges, et la propriété est garantie par des actes inviolables ’

Natives have as large a share in the administration as in any Indian province. Each of the six districts is under a French officer, styled *Inspecteur des affaires indigènes*—executive and judicial officers, subordinate only to the heads of departments at Saigon. All these *Inspecteurs* are military men. Subordinate to them are the Quan-huyens or *Chefs indigènes des arrondissements*, who are appointed by the Government and receive salaries of 40 dollars a month. All other local authorities are elected by the people themselves. They are the ‘Thong’ (*chef du canton*), ‘Xa’ (mayor) and ‘Fu’ong’ (village headman). Justice is administered, according to the Annamite code—a complete and elaborate work, its extravagancies being tempered by European ideas of natural justice, when necessary, especially with regard to the unsparing application of the ratan which it enjoins.

Having consolidated their power in Cochín China, and cast their ægis over Cambodia, the French Government resolved to despatch a peaceful expedition to explore the basin of the Upper Mekong. Their object was to add to their geographical knowledge of the vast country between their newly acquired possessions and the south-west of China, and finally to set at rest

the question of the navigability of that river, by which it was hoped that a large trade might be attracted to Saigon. Passports for the party were demanded from the four monarchs through whose territories the expedition would pass. The Court of Peking temporized, and tried to dissuade the French Government from allowing their servants to venture into a portion of the Celestial Empire where they would have to encounter great peril. Ultimately, however, the desired orders were granted. The Annamite emperor at Hué declared openly, that from motives of *amour propre* he had rather the French should not make acquaintance with his barbarous tributaries on the Mekong, whose manners and customs would only bring disgrace upon his own Government. The overtures made by Admiral de La Grandière through Monseigneur Bigandet, Vicar Apostolic of Ava, to the Burman Court at Mandalay, were ineffectual in consequence of the revolutionary state of the capital during the rebellion of the Meng-gwon Prince. The Court at Bangkok alone furnished the necessary passports at once, though for many reasons it was decidedly averse to the French becoming acquainted with its subjects in Laos.

The expedition left Saigon in a gun-boat on the 5th June 1866. It was composed of six officers, two French sailors, two soldiers, two natives of the Philippines (Togals), six Annamites, a Siamese, a Cambodian, and a Laotian interpreter. The officers were M. de Lagrée in command of the expedition, M.M. Garnier and Delaporte, officers of the Marines, Naval Surgeons Jonbert and Thorel, and M. L.-M. de Carné, an attaché of the French Foreign Office. To defray the expenses of the journey, they were provided with gold leaf, gold ingots, velvet and cotton goods, cheap fire-arms, beads, &c., to the value of only 30,000 francs, a modest sum wherewith to commence such a long expedition.

From Saigon to Pnom-penh or Namvang, the new capital of Cambodia, is 102 miles or three days' journey. To this place, which is situated at the apex of the delta of the Mekong, King Norodom, who, like other Indo-Chinese monarchs, moves his capital after a political crisis, transferred the Court in 1866. The former capital was at Houdon or Oudon, a few miles higher up the river through which the waters of the great lake Tenlisap flow into the Mekong. Pnom-penh is at the intersection of four large streams. From the north-east the Mekong rolls in a single stream, and then separates into two branches known as the Upper and Lower Mekong, which take a southerly direction, whilst to the north-west is the river mentioned above as connecting the Mekong with the great lake. During the rainy season the waters of the Mekong flow up this river into the lake. The lake is situated partly in Cambodian, and partly in Siamese territory. At its northern extremity are the gigantic ruins of Angkor, in the province of the same name, which was ceded by

Cambodia to Siam during the reign of King Norodom's grandfather.

Arrived at Pnom-penh, the expedition diverged from their route to pay a visit to these ruins, the magnificence of which was first brought to notice by their unfortunate countryman, Monhot.

Il était impossible," says M. Carné, "de quitter le Cambodge sans visiter les ruines qui font à la fois sa honte et son orgueil. Elles marquent le point où battait le cœur maintenant refroidi de ce grand empire khmer, dont nous retrouverons bientôt sur notre route des membres épars, et la contemplation de ces magnifiques débris était bien faite pour augmenter notre ardeur à rechercher les autres vestiges d'une civilisation disparue." The researches of the expedition, however, have not yet dispelled the mystery which shrouds the architect and the period of these wonderful remains.

After returning to Pnom-penh and having been hospitably entertained by the king, the party commenced their voyage up the main stream. At less than two days' journey above Pnom-penh, or at about 150 miles from the sea, the navigation of the Mekong became difficult. The gunboat could proceed no further than Crachè, and from thence the expedition proceeded on their journey in canoes provided by the Cambodian governor of that town. Had the ascertainment of the navigability of the Mekong been the only object of the expedition, the party might have returned from here. The river, though of enormous width, was even in the midst of the rainy season so encumbered with rocks as to make the ascent dangerous for canoes.

'Le fleuve est semé d'îles qui le divisent en un grand nombre de bras. Ce n'est que dans un brumeux lointain qu'on apercevait la rive opposée à celle que nous suivions. Les eaux se brisant contre es roches qui formaient une succession presque ininterrompue de rapides, elevaient dans l'air une grande voix mugissante. Entre les îles, les rapides présentent un aspect singulier: sur les rochers et les bas-fonds, une incroyable quantité d'arbustes ont pris racine, ils paraissent au-dessus de l'eau, l'échine ployée par le courant; on dirait une forêt inondée. Nos bateliers faisaient preuve d'une hardiesse extrême et d'une merveilleuse agilité. Ils dirigeaient avec précision leur esquif le long des sentiers sinueux tracés par le hasard entre les arbres autour desquels l'eau bouillonnait en redoublant d'impétuosité. Equilibristes consommés, ils ne manquaient jamais de saisir le tronc rugueux ou la branche flexible qui pouvait leur servir d'appui et empêcher la piroque de prêter le flanc au courant, qui l'eût jetée sur les écueils. Après quelques heures de ces émotions je ne voyais jamais sans plaisir arriver le moment de la halte.'

After nine days of slow and perilous progress, their boats passed the Cambodian frontier and reached the first town in Siamese Laos. This town, Stung-Treng, which formerly belonged to

Cambodia, is situated at the junction of the Attopee river with the Mekong. The exhibition of the Siamese king's order procured the expedition a hospitable reception by the Siamese Governor. Here the party halted for a fortnight, some of them being prostrated by sickness. Their provision of wine and meal ran short, and the French soldiers of the escort began to murmur loudly at the hardships they had to undergo. They pushed on, however, in fresh boats provided by the Governor of Stung-Treng, battling against the frightful stream and tediously hauling themselves along by the aid of the trees and bushes along the bank. Any boat that lost its hold of the bank was swept down like a straw by the current. The boats from Stung-Treng conveyed the party to the foot of the cataracts of Khong, where they landed on the island of that name. The following is M. Carné's description of the river here.

'Un bras du fleuve, large d'environ 800 mètres, est obstrué d'une rive à l'autre par d'énormes blocs de rochers. Le courant, décuplé par ces obstacles, précipite contre eux des eaux furieuses. La roche avancée sur laquelle je me tenais était souvent couverte par un embrun; si loin que pouvait porter mon regard, les crêtes blanches des vagues s'entre mêlaient aux têtes noirâtres des roches.'

It is from these cataracts that the river derives the name by which it has become known to Europeans—Me-Khong, mother of Khong. The Laotians call it Nam-Khong, water of Khong.

The expedition proceeded by land beyond the cataracts to the town of Khong, where they were civilly received by the Siamese Governor, and forwarded on by him to the next province, namely Bassac. During their progress through the Siamese States, the only difficulties the expedition had to contend against were natural ones. The officials were invariably complaisant, and the "royal subjects" were forced to labour in their service. The party might have travelled through the land free of all expense. It was wisely determined, however, that the reputation of the French nation should be established by paying for all that was provided. The boatmen received presents, provisions were purchased, and the depredations which their followers, in accordance with Siamese custom, were ready to make upon the people of the country, were promptly checked. Such conduct created considerable surprise not only among the would-be pillagers, but amongst the people also. "Mandarins who wear thick beards, who do not chew betel, who have no wives, who pay the people obliged to work for them, and prohibit theft! Such a thing had never been heard of. We were a combination of moral and physical oddities. At first our conduct provoked laughter. On reflection, it appeared less ridiculous, especially in the eyes of the rearers of poultry; ultimately it was regarded with approbation."

At Bassac the party halted in order to obtain the passports they expected from Peking, before venturing further north. Near this place is the ruined temple of Vat-phon (Pagoda of the Mountain), a relic of Cambodian architecture almost as striking as those at Angkor. In describing the remains, M. Carné says :—"Never has the art of ornamentation been carried to a greater pitch than in this temple. Time and vegetation have committed greater ravages here than at Angkor, but there still exist portions as complete and perfect as they were when erected." Whilst the arabesques were perfect in style, the figures, both of men and animals, were clumsy and stiff. The representations of the elephant only were an exception. Like the Burmese and other Indo-Chinese nations, the Khmers have a wonderful facility for depicting the form of this animal.

The relations between Bassac and the Court at Bangkok appear to be similar to those subsisting between the Burman Shan States and the Court at Mandalay. The "king," as he is styled at Bassac, acknowledges his allegiance to Siam, but there is a secret dislike, both on his own part and on the part of his people, to the foreign yoke. "We enjoyed here," says M. Carné, "the effect of a double prestige; we were Europeans, and we were the protectors of Cambodia. It was known that we had ventured to oppose Siam and that we had gained the day. Every one wished to see M. de Lagrée, the conqueror of Phnea-rat, of whom the officials had heard so much during their annual visit to Bangkok."

The monotony of the long halt at Bassac was varied by excursions into the valleys of the Attopee and the Sedon, eastern affluents of the Mekong, and as far even as the foot of the range of mountains which separates Annam proper from Laos. The pure Laotian tribes are found only in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mekong. The more remote regions are held, like all other inaccessible portions of Indo-China, by numerous wild tribes, who are totally distinct in race and language from the dwellers in the plains. They are known as Mois, Stiengs, Penongs, Cuys, Charais, &c. Their hand generally is against every man's, and every man's hand is against them. Some of them have purchased immunity from the attacks of slave merchants by sending an annual tribute of gold, the produce of their mountain streams, to Siam. Others are sometimes captured by the Cambodians, and are offered for sale in the slave-market at Pnom-peuh under the shadow of the French tricolor.

Although the party waited at Bassac till the end of December, they did not get the desired passports from Peking, communication with Saigon having been interrupted by disturbances in Cambodia. Six days above Bassac they arrived at the river Ubône or Semun. This appears to be merely a bifurcation of the Mekong. M. De-

laporte was detached to follow the main stream, whilst the rest of the party ascended the Ubône. Both arms of the river are nothing but a succession of rapids. On the 6th January 1867 they arrived at the town of Ubône, where they were agreeably surprised by the cordial reception accorded them by the Governor. He was a member of the late reigning family of Vien-chan, a province further north which had been recently conquered by the Siamese. Having been carried off and kept in Bangkok for some time, he had succeeded by dint of bribery in securing his appointment to Ubône. This province is one of considerable importance. Its chief product is salt, which effloresces from the soil during the dry season, even though the same soil has produced a crop of paddy during the rains.

Here the national *amour propre* of the party was wounded by finding themselves mistaken for Englishmen. "The king 'one day begged us to interfere in some disturbances created 'by a band of Burman pedlars, whom he dared not arrest "because they were provided with a letter from the English authorities at Rangoon. Our chief observed that as we were not "English, it was not for us to interfere, but it took several days "to eradicate from the king's mind the false idea which he had "conceived of our nationality, and I am not sure that we even "then succeeded. Now that we have resolutely established ourselves in Indo-China, it is necessary for our honour, that, the "people of the interior should be as well acquainted with our name "as those of the sea-coast, and that England be no longer looked "upon as the only Western power. At Ubône the title of Englishmen which people insisted on inflicting upon us was useful, but "further on the mistake about our nationality was very nearly "productive of fatal consequences."

From Ubône another member of the mission was detached to return by land to Pnom-penh, with the double object of conveying thither the European soldiers of the escort, whose unruly behaviour was likely to bring trouble upon the expedition, and to make a further attempt to procure the much-desired passports from Peking. The remainder proceeded by land to rejoin M. Delaporte at Khemarat, upon the main stream.

Above the junction of the two streams is the town of Phnom, where there is a temple of much repute, the object of pilgrimage from all parts of Laos. Among the devotees who visit this shrine there obtains a very un-Buddhistic practice of self-mutilation. Finger-joints are lopped off, and offered to the temple. Above this is Lakhon, where the bulk of the inhabitants are engaged in the manufacture of lime. At Huthen, on the 6th March 1867, M. Garnier rejoined the expedition, bringing with him the order granted by Prince Kung, guaranteeing the admission of

the party into the Celestial Empire. At Nong-cai M. de Lagrée dispensed with the services of the young Frenchman who had acted as Siamese interpreter. Brought up at Bangkok, he had contracted habits of mendacity and debauchery, which frequently brought trouble upon the expedition. The Governor of Nongcai conveyed him under a guard to Bangkok.

On the 2nd April the expedition reached the ruins of the town of Vienchan or Wingkyan, the capital of a Laotian kingdom which appears to have flourished about the beginning of the 17th century, when it was visited by an embassy sent by the Dutch Governor-General in the Indies, and was finally destroyed by the Siamese in 1777. The ruins are extensive and some of them magnificent, but having been built during the decadence of Laotian art, they do not equal those at Angkor or Vat-phon.

There has been much uncertainty about the true geographical position of this town. "Crawford," says M. Carné, "calls it Langchan, and places it 15° 45' north latitude. Low and Berghaus give it the names of Lanchang and Lantschang. Macleod places it in 17° 48' north latitude. This is near the true position of Vienchang but the indefatigable English explorer confounds Vienchan with Muong-luan Praban," which is farther north. During the last century the State of Vienchan was harried both by Chinese and Burmese armies. Alompra deported a considerable number of the inhabitants to Pegu, but the final subjugation of the country was effected by the Siamese, of whose kingdom it now forms an integral portion. It is indeed about the last province in this direction over which the Siamese monarch holds absolute sway, the rulers of the States further north being tributaries rather than subjects. At Sienkan or Muong-mai, the stage above Vienchan, the spirits of the party, already well-nigh exhausted by the fatigues of the journey and the intense heat of the season, were still further damped by a horrid rumour that the English had been before them on the Upper Mekong. From some travelling merchants just arrived from Luang Praban, they heard that an English exploring party, consisting of several officers and a numerous escort, had reached that place from Zimmay. The chagrin and disgust with which M. de Lagrée's party received the intelligence that they had been thus forestalled, was somewhat lessened by hearing that the English did not intend to venture further north, but were about to descend the Mekong in boats. At once preparations were made to give their rivals a hospitable reception when they met them. The English flotilla appeared in sight. An enormous boat with a comfortable house built upon it, was no doubt the one on which the officers of the expedition were accommodated. It passed, however, without a sign of recognition. The natural remarks about insular reserve and Britannic

punctiliousness were hardly made when the boat hove to, and the feelings of the party were relieved by the sight of a card announcing "M. X., land-surveyor and architect to His Siamese Majesty's Government." The much dreaded British expedition was found to consist of a Batavian Dutchman and two mulatto attendants, who had been sent on a surveying expedition to the extreme limits of the Siamese dominions, and who were now flying away from the malaria which accompanies the rainy season. From this official they learnt that they were at last really approaching the limit of Siamese influence. This prospect added a zest to the feelings with which the remainder of the journey was regarded, for though their advance beyond the Siamese boundary might be the signal for the commencement of unknown evils, they felt relieved at escaping from the monotonous state of security and comfort which the ready assistance of the Siamese officials had afforded, them. They now moreover were really an exploring party. The Dutch expedition of the 17th century had not advanced further than Vienthan, and all beyond was a veritable *terra incognita*.

At Paclai (18° N.L.) it was found that the Mekong makes an abrupt bend to the west of about 200 miles in length, a fact not noted in any existing maps. Above Paclai the river runs in a deep channel between scarped rocks. After passing Nongcai the pyramidal pagoda of Luang Prabang appeared in sight. This city, which is estimated to contain 7,000 or 8,000 souls, is the residence of a Governor with the style and title of "king," whose courtiers raised some difficulties as to the manner in which the members of the expedition were to be received by His Majesty. Ultimately, however, they gave in; not only were their attempts to require a prostrate attitude and the performance of the "shie-kho," with joined hands and bended bodies, firmly and successfully resisted by M. de Lagrée, but the king was induced to undergo the novel process of hand-shaking, under the idea that it was a portion of the etiquette observed at European courts.

At Luang Prabang the Nam-kan* joins the Mekong. It was on the banks of the Namkan, not far from Luang Prabang, that Monbot breathed his last, and M. de Lagrée had been commissioned by Admiral de La Grandière to erect a monument over his remains. This was done at the expense of the king. At Luang Prabang it was found that the Chinese had inoculated the people with the vices of gambling and opium-eating to a far greater extent than had been seen anywhere below. The annual caravans from Yunan had been stopped for some years past by the disturbances existing in that province. Burman traders, it was found, had taken their place so far as the

* "Nam," meaning water or river, is universally prefixed to the names of streams from the head waters of the Sittang to the borders of China.

supply of cotton and woollen goods was concerned. The Burmans are said by M. Carné to be distinguishable from the Laotians by their more open and intelligent physiognomy. In the latitude of Luang Prabang the Laotians have adopted the Burman custom of tattooing their bodies from the waist to the knees, whence the designation of "black-bellied Laotians," given them by the old geographers.

Without heeding the strenuous endeavours made by the king from political motives to prevent their advance, and equally regardless of the advice honestly given by his subjects not to venture into a country which was then in a complete state of anarchy, the expedition, after a month's stay at Luang Prabang, left it to continue their journey in May 1867. After passing the mouth of the Nam-hou, a large affluent of the Mekong rising in China, the point was reached where the main channels of the Mekong and the Meinam approach one another. Here was set at rest an opinion held by some geographers that the rivers communicated with one another. A lofty mountain range separates them, and from the top of the watershed the party saw the two streams rolling in totally distinct valleys. The mountains are volcanic, and a small crater still in action was visited. Sienkhong is the last town on the Mekong where the Siamese Government has any influence, and it was with some anxiety as to the result that M. de Lagrée despatched from here a letter and presents to the Tsaw-bwa or king of Sien-tong, the first of the Burman-Shan princes through whose territories he would have to pass.

Above Sien-khong, the territories of the chief of Zimmay touch the Mekong. Here, for the first time during the journey, the teak tree was seen; magnificent forests of it cover the plain of Xien-Sen. There are no large towns upon the river-bank in the Zimmay territory, and through this territory the expedition passed, as previously requested by the king at Luang Prabang, without landing. The reason of this request, which appears to have been made in the interest of the Zimmay chief, is not clear. M. Carné's explanation is not a satisfactory one.

'Les démêlés auxquels a donné lieu l'exploitation du bois de *teak* par les Anglais pouvaient avoir laissé aux autorités de ce pays quelque ressentiment contre les Européens. M. de Lagrée ne jugea pas utile d'en affronter les conséquences.'

The brigand-like exploits of Captain Burn and the Burman foresters from Moulmein upon the affluents of the Salween, can hardly have been heard of by, and much less have affected, the authorities on the Mekong.

On arrival at the frontier line, M. de Lagrée sent a message to the headman of Muong Line, the first village in the Sien-tong.

state, asking permission to proceed there and await an answer to his letter to the chief. This official at once sent sixteen pack-bullocks to convey the baggage of the party to his village. After a long and painful day's march over hills and up the beds of torrents, the first halting place in Burman Laos was reached. Muong Line was found to be a considerable village, situated in the middle of a vast plain, which the rains were rapidly turning into a marsh. Supplies were abundant. Every fifth day was a market-day, when considerable quantities of eatables and clothing were exposed for sale. The latter consisted generally of English cotton stuffs, made expressly for the Burman market, with Burman patterns printed on them. The members of the expedition, weary of their unvaried diet of rice and lean fowls looked with greedy eyes upon the fat bullocks which swarmed about the place, but the price of one (sixty francs) was considered too great a drain upon their rapidly lightening cash chest, and they consoled themselves with peaches.

The passage of the line separating Siamese from Burman Laos was accompanied by a much more marked change in the appearance and language of the people than had been observed anywhere beyond the French frontier. The Siamese tuft of hair here gave way to the flowing locks on which the Burmans and Shans pride themselves. The waistcloth was replaced by the Shan pantaloons. The women wore jackets instead of discarding all covering above the waist. The language was unintelligible to the members of the expedition, who had only a superficial knowledge of the lower Laotian dialect, but their Laotian interpreter could still understand and make himself understood. The non-Laotian tribes, allied no doubt to the Karens, began to increase in numbers and importance. They are looked down upon as savages by the Shans, but apparently with little reason. They are hardy, industrious, and independent mountaineers, who traffic freely with the Shans and have no servile fear of them. The attire of the women of some of these tribes is described as consisting of a glowing head-dress, ornamented with plaited straw-heads and silver, ear-rings of glass or silver, a multiplicity of bracelets of the same materials, a short dark jacket and petticoat of the same colour, with dark blue gaiters round their well-developed calves. In the matter of dress, certainly, these "savages" compare favourably with some of the *soi-disant* "civilized" Laotians.

Notwithstanding the readiness he had displayed in conducting the mission to Muong-Line, the headman of the village waited for several days before paying his respects to the leader. At length, having obtained his cue from Sientong, he appeared, and announced that an answer favourable to the progress of the expedition had been received from the king (Tsawbwa). After four days' earnest deliberation in

the council of State, it had been resolved that the party should be permitted to proceed on their way. M. de Lagrée does not appear to have been previously very well-informed of the political condition of the Burman Shan states, for it was here that he learnt, for the first time, that all authority is divided between the Shan Tsawbwa and a Burman Tsitkai, or a "*Mandarin Burman*," as M. Carné styles him. There are in fact generally two of these officials at the Court of each Tsawbwa, one to act as a spy upon the other, the government of Mandalay having too little trust in the honesty of its servants to entrust the powers of a political resident to a single individual. At Paleo, a stage beyond Muong Line, a letter from the Tsawbwa of Sientong* reached M. de Lagrée. This letter, the purport of which was with difficulty made out, contained a kind of invitation to the expedition to continue their journey through Sientong. Unfortunately for M. de Lagrée, he did not look upon the letter in the light in which all invitations from monarchs, either Eastern or Western, are generally regarded, i.e., as commands. To have accepted it, would have taken him too far away from the valley of the Mekong, and he decided not to deviate from his northern course. This resolve cost him in the end no little embarrassment and delay.

The next State to be traversed was, it was understood, that of Muong-You, and a messenger was despatched to the Tsawbwa, requesting permission to enter his dominions. M. de Lagrée's information, however, was bad. It was subsequently discovered that not only are the Tsawbwaws of Muong-You and Muong-Yong dependent in a manner on Sientong, but that the Burman Tsitkais at these two places are directly subordinate to the Tsitkai of Sientong. The Tsitkai of Sientong again is subordinate to the Tsitkai of Muong-Lem which lies further north. From Paleo the party advanced to Siam-leap. The difficulties of the journey increased daily. The rainy season was at its height, and carriage,

* The difficulty of expressing in a European alphabet the peculiar twangy sounds of Laotian names adds to the difficulty of understanding the geography of the country. Thus the town called Sientong by the French, is the town which has been known to the English since Macleod's journey in 1835 as Kyang-tung, and the French Sienhong is the English Kyang-hong. Macleod's rendering of the first syllable of these two names, which is nearly a transliteration of the Burman method of writing them, approaches nearest to the native sound. Kyang-hong or Sienhong is situated on the bank of the Mekong in 22° of north latitude, and Kyang-tung or Sien-tong is some days' journey to the south-west, away from the river. Captain Sprye's much discussed route from Rangoon to China passes through both these towns. To add to the confusion caused by the varying nomenclature of Laotian towns, most of them have a classical Pali name by which they are described in native official documents. Thus Kyang-tung is Khemarāṭa (Kshema-fāshtā, *Regio Felix*) and Kyang-hong is Zodinagara, (Jyotinagara, City of Light.)

in the absence of such a royal order as had carried them comfortably through the Siamese states, was unprocureable except at most exorbitant rates

Weakened by fever, dizzy with numerous doses of quinine, and bled almost to death by leeches, the party floundered on, shoeless and ragged, across muddy plains and through raging torrents, with the most gallant determination. At Siam-leap the headman was very doubtful of the propriety of allowing them to proceed until a favourable answer was received from Muong-Yon, and when this arrived, the porters would not take less than 100 francs for half a day's journey. From Siam-leap the route lay along the bank of the Mekong to Sopyong, a small village at the confluence of the Nam-Yong with the Mekong, and the next stage carried them to Muong-Yong. This is the site of an old city which is said to have existed even before the Shans settled in the country, but a search for objects of archæological interest among the jungle-covered ruins appears to have been fruitless. Here M. de Lagrée was made to appreciate the magnitude of the mistake he had made in his interpretation of the letter from Sientong. The Governor declared it impossible that people who had showed such a sign of ill-breeding as to refuse to accept a polite invitation from the powerful chief of Sientong, could be allowed to proceed any further. He proved inexorable in his determination, having probably received his orders from Sientong, and M. de Lagrée was compelled to retrieve his error by starting at once for Sientong. He left most of the party at Muong-Yong taking with him M. Thorel, the botanist of the expedition, and some presents for the Tsawbwa, not forgetting some also for the functionary whom they had now found to play such an important part in the Shan states, viz.—the Burman Tsitkai. The visit and its consequences appear to have amply repaid M. de Lagrée for the trouble. The Tsawbwa received him as cordially as his predecessor had received Macleod. The present Tsawbwa, probably a son of the old blind prince who was reigning at the time of Macleod's visit, recollected the English officer, and described him as a man who occupied himself in contemplating the scenery, and who, by the aid of some strange implements, consumed twice as much food as an ordinary Shan!

The Burman Tsitkai, who was not quite sure that M. de Lagrée was not an Englishman, showed no little ill-will towards him, but this conduct on the part of his *surveillant* simply increased the good-will shown by the Tsawbwa.

Sientong (or Kyangtung) is described as situated on an elevated plateau, forming the watershed between the Salween and the Mekong. This plateau is of immense extent, thickly peopled and admirably cultivated. Snow is not unknown in this region,

and many of the fruits of Europe flourish in it. The bazaar is large and well-supplied; not less than five bullocks and numerous pigs are slaughtered daily. Evidently the Burman Tsitkai does not here venture to enforce his royal master's anti-bullock-slaying proclivities upon the people. The people here are said to call themselves "Kung" and not Laos, Sientong being known to them as Muong-kung.

Thanks to the friendly feeling shown by the Tsawbwa, no further difficulties prevented the passage of the expedition through the Kyaungtung state. The whole party re-assembled at Muong-You, the Tsawbwa of which place, being a younger brother of the chief of Kyaungtung, received them hospitably. He is described as a young man of prepossessing appearance, aristocratic manners, and favourably disposed to Europeans, but addicted to pale ale. He provided the party with boats, in which they performed a portion of their journey down the Namloi. They then crossed a range of hills into the valley of the Namga, and on to the town of Muong-Long in the Sien-hong (Kyanghong) state. Here they were delighted to find unmistakable evidence of the proximity of China. The Namga was crossed by a stone bridge with perfect arches, and amongst the women they spied two with dwarfed feet. Muong-Long is one of the twelve Muongs or petty Tsawbwaships, which compose the state of Sien-hong. The headman received them well, but just as he was about to forward them on their way, a letter arrived from Sienhong to the effect that, if the Europeans arrived, they were to be directed to go back by the way they had come.

This unexpected and peremptory rebuff, just as they were entering the state, whose chiefs, ever since they were first introduced to the notice of Europeans in 1838 by Macleod, have always been considered to be favourably disposed to Europeans, was somewhat puzzling. Some days' delay occurred whilst a messenger was sent to propitiate the chief, who ultimately gave his permission to the party to proceed. The Emperor of China had, he said, positively prohibited the entry of the party into his dominions, but, he added confidentially, if M. de Lagr  e did not consider such an order as sacred, he himself would not oppose the continuance of their journey. For this little interruption, it was afterwards discovered, the party were chiefly indebted to the friendly intention of one of their own countrymen, the Vicar Apostolic of Yunan. Hearing of their approach, and thinking it would be highly dangerous for them to enter Yunan at that time, he wrote a letter to that effect and induced the Viceroy of Yunan to send one of a similar purport to the chief of Sienhong. This was taken to be a prohibition against their entering China. The present town of Sien-hong was found to occupy a

site some few miles distant from the site on which it was built when visited by Macleod. The disturbances from which these fair countries are never free for more than a few years at a time, have not improved the condition of the Tsawbwa or his people. In Macleod's time the town was small and mean, but the Tsawbwa's palace was a handsome edifice of wood and stone. Now the town is said to be a collection of miserable huts, resembling a temporary encampment more than a town, and the Tsawbwa's palace is but little better. The people now are subject in a greater degree to the Burman yoke than they were formerly. Since the Burman king has been deprived of Pegu, the fairest portion of his empire, the policy of the Court has been to recoup itself by extending its influence to the eastwards. The troubles in Yunan which have diminished the influence of the Chinese Viceroy in the Shan states, have been eminently favourable to the Burman plans. In Macleod's time the Chinese interfered actively in the government of Kyanghong and levied a regular land-revenue in it as well as an annual tribute of silver and tea from the Tsawbwa; whilst the Burman court obtained nothing but a gold cup, some gold and silver flowers and other trifles, as an acknowledgment of fealty. M. Carné does not give any detailed information regarding the amount of Chinese influence at present exercised in the country, but it appears probable that, though a Chinese political resident is still maintained in the town, his authority is not equal to that of the Burman Tsitkai. The present Tsawbwa is a young man recently placed on the throne by the king of Burmah. He received the mission in royal state. The members passed into the royal presence though the ranks of the whole of his brave army,—a set of tatterdemalions, armed with flint muskets and some nondescript weapons. Among their number the members of the mission recognized some of the coolies who had carried their baggage into Kyanghong. The palace was merely an extensive shed, badly thatched, with the chinks in its mat walls but half concealed behind Chinese carpets and curtains. After some delay the king appeared, wearing the bizarre costume affected by Shan and Burman monarchs, *viz.* a pyramidal crown, something like the musical instrument known as Chinese Bells in Europe, and spangled epaulettes turning up to his ears. Over his shoulders was a Burman "Tsalway" or cord of golden threads, the number of the threads in which indicate the rank of the wearer. The king did not open his lips during the interview, the conversation being carried on according to Burman etiquette at formal receptions through a royal "mouth-piece," seated in front of the throne. As permission was given to M. de Lagrée to proceed on his journey, he was well satisfied with the result of the interview. The Mekong was then crossed for the last time, 1,200 miles from

its mouth, and the precipitous hills which separate the plains of Yunan from the river at this point having been surmounted, the party found themselves face to face with a post of veritable queue-wearing Chinese soldiers, whilst at their feet lay a town of unmistakeable Chinese aspect with red-walled and red-tiled houses, in the long-looked-for plains of Yunan. This point was reached on the 18th October 1867, sixteen months after they had started from Saigon.

This first Chinese town was no other than that which has been known to several English Chambers of Commerce for some years past as Esmok—the much advocated railway terminus of the enthusiastic Captain Sprye. It is called by the Shans Muong-La, by the Chinese Scumao, and its name has been variously written Esmok, Sey-maw, Semaou and Szemaon.

Even at this southern extremity of Yunan, the melancholy effects of the Musalman insurrection were plainly discernible. The suburbs of the city were in ruins. The iconoclastic propensities of the followers of the Prophet were apparent in the dismantled condition of all the Pagodas. The population, which still amounted to about 30,000 souls, were in imminent danger of another siege by a rebel army encamped only three marches off; and the military mandarin who was in charge was making active preparations for resistance. He had been fortunate enough to secure a supply of European arms from Burmah, and a revolver presented to him by M. de Lagrée was considered a most acceptable gift. From the accounts obtained here regarding the state of Upper Yunan, any further advance up the basin of the Mekong (which is here called the Kionlang-Kiang, river of the nine Dragons) was judged to be impossible. The expedition was by this time in a sorry plight. Their exchequer was nearly exhausted. They had no shoes and but few clothes, and their health after the privations they had undergone, was, as might be expected, by no means good. They were not even provided with an interpreter, and thus communications with the authorities had to be carried on through their Annamite attendants, who understood the written character though not the language, of the country.

Besides the difficulties of the route, another reason incited M. de Lagrée to diverge from the basin of the Mekong. The unfitness of that river as a high-way for commerce having been ascertained, it was desirable to gain reliable information regarding another river, which may possibly serve as an outlet for the trade of Yunan. In the mountains of Yunan, a ramification of the great Himalayan range, there rise two rivers (besides the Meinam) which flow to the east and south-east. The former is the Se-Kiang or Canton river, and the latter the Son-Koi which flows through the Annamite dominions past Ketcho or Tonquin into the Gulf of

Tonquin. Towards this river, therefore, the expedition directed their steps. They struck it at the town of Yueng-Kiaug. The mandarin of the place, a learned geographer in his way, gave much valuable information about the river. The western portion is unfortunately obstructed by rapids, but from a point several days' march from the Tonquin frontier it is a navigable stream, and continues so till it reaches the sea by its two mouths, known to the Annamites as Meign-shoon and Bien-shoon, which are accessible to vessels drawing not more than 13 feet. The practicability of tapping south-western China by this route is established. The one little difficulty in the way—the possession of the mouths of the river by the Annamite Emperor—the French might easily remove. The following remarks of an attaché of the French Foreign Office (M. de Carné) are of evil omen for the Emperor Tu-duc, should he continue to display the obstructiveness which is characteristic of some other Indo-Chinese monarchs as well as himself. After adverting to the ascertained impracticability of utilizing the Mekong, he states :—

‘ That way of communication so ardently desired and sought for, that outlet by which the abundance of the riches of Western China will one day flow into a French port, must be looked for on the, Sonkoi and not on the Mekong. This is a truth which is now placed beyond a doubt, and which will certainly cause every one to demand a complete exploration of the Tonquin river, a direct protectorate as in Cambodia, or at least complete commercial liberty in the ports of Tonquin, guaranteed by the establishment at Hué of a representative of the Governor of Cochin-China. Such are the only means of escaping from a strait in which an inexcusable timidity or silly scruples would bring us to a stand-still. Observing the persevering efforts made by England to attract to its Indian or Burman markets the commerce of Western China, one is astonished at our neglect to profit by our exceptional situation under circumstances which may not always be so opportune. To be the first in the field, to establish a line of commerce, are advantages greater, even in Asia than in Europe, and such advantages the war in Yunan holds out to us in a most unexpected manner. That war has in effect obstructed the ancient channels through which the products of Yunan flowed into the valley of the Irrawaddy, and opposes new obstacles to the re-opening of that road between China and India, which is being sought for by the English with more obstinacy than good fortune. When one reflects that what is now required is to direct towards a French possession the products of that vast region, which, without including Northern Laos, embraces four of the richest provinces of China; and to open out to us markets where the consumers are counted by millions, it must be admitted that such a result is deserving on our part of efforts equal to those which are being made by our rivals. Is it at a moment when by a happy chance it depends only

upon ourselves to outstrip our rivals, that we should allow ourselves to be stopped by the touchiness of a tyrant who confounds liberty of commerce with territorial aggrandizement, and who repulses our merchants as if they were the fore-runners of our soldiers? When a war of conquest has been decided on, one must accept the consequences of success, and the opening of Tonquin is a necessary result of our establishing ourselves in the six provinces of Lower Cochinchina.'

In travelling through Southern Yunnan, the passport of Prince Kung procured them everywhere a hospitable reception. Guards and carriage for their baggage were furnished free of charge. The country is described as meriting all the eulogies which have been passed upon it. The scenery reminded them of Provence. The cultivation everywhere was admirable; extensive forests of pines, mines of salt, coal, iron, and other metals, form a vast agglomeration of natural wealth. The greater portion of the copper from which the Chinese "cash" are made, is produced in Yunnan. The population is more heterogeneous than that of any other province of the Chinese Empire. Being so far removed from the source of the central power, many indigenous tribes have escaped that assimilation with their conquerors to which the people of the other provinces have had to submit. A tribe called Toukia claim to be the autochthones of the country. There are also the Lolos, the Pai-y, the Pent and the Minkias. The Lolos again are divided into white Lolos, black Lolos, red Lolos, and Lolos of the plains. All these races, of whom as yet we know nothing save their names, offer an interesting field for ethnologists. The erroneousness of the opinion held by some who are sceptical as to the reported natural wealth of Western China, is established by the Saigon expedition. With regard to the sister province of Szechouen, let us quote Abbé Huc:—

'Sze-tchouen (four valleys) is the largest province in China, and perhaps also the finest. So at least it appeared to us, after having compared it with the other parts of the empire that we have had occasion to study in our various journeys. Its temperature is moderate, both in winter and summer, and neither the long and terrible frosts of the northern, nor the stifling heats of the southern, provinces are ever felt in it. Its soil is, from the abundance of the rivers by which it is watered, extremely fertile, and is also pleasantly varied. Vast plains, covered by rich harvests of wheat and other kinds of corn, alternate with mountains crowned with forests, magnificently fertile valleys, lakes abounding in fish, and navigable rivers. The Yang-tze-kiang, one of the finest rivers in the world, traverses this province from south-west to north-east. Its fertility is such that, it is said, the produce of a single harvest could not be consumed in it in ten years. Great numbers of textile and tinctorial plants are cultivated in it, among others the herbaceous indigo which gives

a fine blue colour, and a kind of hemp or thistle from which extremely fine and delicate fabrics are produced. On the hills are fine plantations of tea, of which all the most exquisite kinds are kept for the epicures of the province. The coarsest are sent off to the people of Thibet and Turkistan. It is to Sze-tchouen that the pharmacists from all the provinces of the empire send their travellers to lay in their stock of medicinal plants.'

For upwards of a month M. de Lagrée traversed the southern portion of Yunan, visiting the large cities of Shen-Pin, Long-Quan and Tsheng-Chouen-Hien on his way to the provincial capital, Yunan-Sen. The weather was cold and trying to the Annamite attendants. The climatic contrasts, such as palm-leaves bending under a coating of snow, presented to view in this inter-tropical region, were strikingly interesting. The officials everywhere received them courteously, and the populace displayed the most intense and inconvenient curiosity to see and study the habits of the foreign devils from the west, the first who had ever visited Yunan clothed in their national costume. At Yunan-Sen they were sumptuously lodged by the governor Song-tagen in the "Palace of Examinations for Literary Degrees." Here they met Fathers Protheau and Fenouil, two of the French Jesuit missionaries of Yunan. The governor was violently opposed to M. de Lagrée's project of paying a visit to Talifoo, before embarking on the Yang-tze-kiang for Shanghai. He could not believe that any one would wish to visit the head-quarters of the Musalman rebels without having a secret understanding with them. It was discovered, however, that Song-tagen was not the only man of influence in Yunan-Sen. The military force was commanded by Ma-tagen, a bluff old Musalman warrior, who for some reason of his own, probably jealousy of the ruler at Talifoo, had remained faithful to the Emperor, and had driven the rebels out of Yunan-Sen. A still more notable personage was the Grand Mufti, a dillitante philosopher and astronomer who had visited Mecca and Constantinople, and staid a whole year at Singapore to ascertain by personal experience whether near the equator the days and nights were always of equal length. With these two worthies M. de Lagrée played his cards most successfully. From the first he borrowed 6,000 francs to be repaid in fire-arms at Shanghai, and from the second he obtained a letter of recommendation to the Sultan of Talifeo. Thus provided, the party started upon their adventurous journey. The route, it was deemed best to adopt, was a somewhat circuitous one through the southern part of Sze-tchouen. They would thus approach Talifoo through a tract, which by the mutual consent of the rebels and imperialists had been left as neutral ground, in order that the traffic on the Yang-tze-kiang might not be interrupted. Each party considered that a blockade

of the river would be more disadvantageous to itself than to its opponents. At Tong-tchouen in the valley of the Yang-tze-kiang, the governor Lean-tagen received them hospitably and courteously. Here M. de Lagrée unfortunately became so ill that he could proceed no further. Leaving one of the doctors with him, the rest of the officers, with an escort of five men only, continued their journey. From Hoeli-tchouen, an important mart on the southern frontier of Sze-tchouen, they advanced boldly into the rebel state, being guided by a Chinese Catholic Priest, Père Lu, who conversed with them in Latin "et dans un latin à faire frémir, si loin qu'ils reposent, Virgile et Cicéron."

At a village named Ngadati they found the first Musalman Custom House. The commandant received them civilly, and their baggage even was not searched. Proceeding onwards, they encountered none of the perils which, it had been foretold, would befall them. The bands of robbers, who, they had been warned, would bar the route, were not to be seen. "The prestige which attached to us as Europeans sheltered us from all attempts on the part of the bandits so much dreaded by single travellers in this country which is admirably adapted for ambuscades."

Had the British expedition, which at this time was advancing from the west towards Talifoo, been able to foresee the successful result of the dash and energy displayed by the French exploring party, they would have hesitated perhaps before turning their backs upon Yunan—so leaving to their rivals the honour of being the first and as yet the only representatives of a European nation who have appeared at Talifoo. At every place where Musalman authorities were found, the letters of the Grand Mufti procured them a cordial reception. At Pienho they were taken to one Père Fong, another Chinese Catholic Priest, of whose existence they were previously ignorant. "We surprised him as he was reading his breviary, and it would be difficult to describe his astonishment. *Vox faucibus hæsit*. His Latin stuck in his throat, and was emitted in monosyllables which were absolutely unintelligible."

Here also another French priest, Father Leguilcher, was found, living in complete retirement, and concealing his whereabouts as much as possible from the Musalman authorities, whom he described as sanguinary and cruel tyrants, who during the last ten years have reduced the population of Yunan to half its former amount. At the sight of his countrymen, he courageously resolved to emerge from his retreat and accompany them to Tali as their interpreter.

Had the party now had the advantage of the admirable tact and *savoir-faire* of their chief M. de Lagrée to guide their conduct, they might perhaps have been saved from the awkward contre-

temps which occurred at their entry into the capital, and which from its effects marred the success they had met with so far. Whilst riding through the city, they were met by a mandarin of high rank, who invited them to dismount and take off their hats. This was done by order of the sultan himself, who was looking at them and desired to have a better view of their appearance than he could obtain whilst they were mounted and covered. This order they foolishly neglected to comply with, and they consequently were roughly treated by the attendants of the mandarin. Their Annamite attendants rashly used their swords, and cut down a Musalman soldier. The affray was terminated only by the efforts of the mandarin himself. This exhibition of violence did not of course prepossess the sultan in their favour. He refused to believe in the peaceful character of their mission. "Tell these Europeans," said he to Père Leguilcher, "that they may take all the countries watered by the Lant-San-Kiang (Mekong) from the sea to Yunan, but there they must stop. They may take the whole of China, but the unconquerable kingdom of Tali shall be an impassable barrier to their ambition. I have already put to death a great number of foreigners, and let those insolent folk who yesterday spilt the blood of one of my soldiers, expect a similar fate if they stay here long. I spare them because they have been recommended to me by a man who is venerated by all Musalmans, but let them return without delay to the place from whence they have come." After two days' stay in Talifoo, therefore, the party were forced to retrace their steps to Hoeli-tchouen, without exploring the city or the magnificent valley in which it is situated.

Talifoo is supposed to be the town which is called by Marco Polo Yachi, and of the inhabitants of which he says in 1295 that they consisted of "a mixture of idolatrous indigenes, Nestorian Christians, and Saracens." The town has also been known by the names of Y-tcheou, Yao-tcheou, and Nan-tchao, receiving the name of Tali after its conquest by the grandson of Gengis Khan. The present Musalman inhabitants are no doubt the descendants of the original Muhammadan conquerors and of the degenerate Nestorian Christians, who have coalesced on the strength of the unity of the deity being a fundamental point in both their religions. For six centuries before 1857, Yunan was an integral part of the Chinese Empire. In 1855 disturbances arose in consequence of the ill-treatment of some Muhammadan miners by the mandarins. The miners assassinated the Chinese officers, and then formed themselves into armed bands who wandered about the country calling upon their co-religionists to join them. In 1856, they formed a plot to assassinate every Chinese official in Yunan-Sen. On this, one of the most energetic mandarins in the province, Chang-tson, governor of Ibokin, thought it was time to be up and doing. He got up a counterplot

for the massacre of all the Musalmans in Yunan. He succeeded, however, in disposing of only a few hundreds of them in the neighbourhood of his own town. This was the signal for a general insurrection of the Musalmans throughout Yunan. The whole of the Chinese officers in the town of Tali were massacred. Chang-tson laid seige to Tali, but his army being composed of men more accustomed to the smoke of opium than to that of powder, it was dispersed by a sortie of a handful of Musalmans.

The insurgents then declared themselves independent of China, and elected a monarch. Their choice fell on one Tou, the son of a horse-dealer, a native of Monghoa. He assumed the name of Soliman. The Chinese call him Uen-soai. He governs with the aid of a Council composed of four civil and four military members. The Musalman armies were pushed at first as far south as Kyang-tong, but having been repulsed by the Tsawbwa of that place, they retreated northwards after laying waste the large towns of Esmok and Yunan-Sen. For ten years the rebels were confined within the northern half of Yunan. By recent accounts, however, they appear to be again advancing southwards. The sultan, whose reign is one of terror, lives in a state of perpetual fear himself, and is never seen outside the walls of his citadel.

Such is M. de Carné's account of this new Musalman kingdom. It is possible, however, that the unfortunate check he himself met with at Talifoo may have prejudiced him against the sultan. Had not the British expedition turned back when within twelve days' march of the capital, when the sultan was willing to receive them, we might have had the advantage of a description of himself and his government drawn by other hands and in brighter colours.

The French expedition returned to Tong-tchouen to find that their gallant chief, M. de Lagrée, had succumbed to a disease of the liver, contracted from the toils and exposures he had undergone in the course of his two years' journey. Had he been spared a little longer, his sterling qualities and tact in dealing with Orientals would probably have made his name as famous in French colonial history as those of Dupleix or Labourdonnais.

ART. VII. — PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN ITS PRESENT ASPECT.

FOR the last thirteen years settlement operations have been going on in the North-Western Provinces, steadily and noiselessly, as is the fashion of the province. In truth, somewhat too noiselessly. No completion reports have been given to the world, such as those which, proceeding from the Central Provinces, delighted the students of Indian tenures and of our land revenue system. No papers such as those by Bombay survey and settlement officers, less attractive certainly from a literary point of view, but filled with at least as much instructive matter. Considerable increase of revenue has been effected, though at a very heavy expense, but we still await announcement that sanction has been accorded to any of the assessments. Delay there certainly has been in stamping the work with the seal of irrevocable sanction. But for this delay the empire has reason to be profoundly thankful. It has thereby escaped the perpetration of a great error, which, like all errors produced by over-hasty readiness to change, would have led to a revulsion of opinion and action in the direction of the opposite extreme, and thus have helped to perpetuate that oscillation between extremes which is now, and has been for the last hundred years, the bane of India.

Twelve years ago, who in the country did not think that the *principle* of a permanent settlement was dead and condemned, though unhappily before its death and condemnation it had produced that mischievous offspring which now cramps the administration of Bengal? Seven years ago, when Baird Smith's views had won their way, who among us had not come round to the belief that the principle of permanency was a sound—nay, the only sound one, and that the mistakes made by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal were the results of accidental causes, having nothing to do with the essence of the measure. Four years ago a conference of revenue officers in the North-Western Provinces pronounced strongly in favour of permanence. Who among them now holds to that view, or looks with other than dismay on the prospect of the results likely to come from the permanent settlement, as it is being introduced into those provinces?

Still it will not be wise hastily to condemn a measure fraught with immense good to the landed interests of India, because, upon the surface of it, the benefit which accrues to a class, appears likely to be more than counterbalanced by the injury inflicted upon the empire as a whole. A more searching examination will show that those faults are not essential outgrowths of the elementary

principles. They can be separated the one from the other. In the North-West Provinces, the errors of Lord Cornwallis had been avoided at the very outset. It was a vice of a different character which escaped detection, and which at this time, menaces the well-being of every interest connected with the land, and through them of the empire at large. Detect that mistake, discover the proper remedy, and you may confirm the settlement work which during the last thirteen years has been progressing in the North-Western Provinces, with absolute confidence in its results.

It is not anything new that we have now to impart. The faults to be avoided, the remedy to be applied, were clearly pointed out to Lord Canning's Government in 1862. They have three times since, with more or less force, been laid before the authorities in the North-West. They have quite recently been represented to the Secretary of State—with what result, we shall see—and now there are indications that a measure, which has so long been urged by so many authorities upon so many tribunals, is winning its way both at head-quarters in the North-West Provinces, and in the Government of India. We welcome the signs of an approaching decision, which we regard as calculated to turn what would have been a matter for perpetual regret into a source of permanent satisfaction.

To the consideration of the measure from which this happy result is hoped, we purpose to arrive by examining—

First.—The value to be attached to the objections now taken to fixing once for all the amount of revenue demanded by the State.

Secondly.—The worth of the objects which the authors of the measure originally sought to gain.

Thirdly.—The possibility of framing the measure so as to obviate those objections and attain those objects.

II.

To commence with the *a priori* arguments which have this year been revived in the *Indian Economist*. They are nowhere so succinctly or ably stated as in a very clever, and, in most respects, admirable paper by Sir George Wingate, one of the two founders of that revenue system, which, started thirty-three years ago, gave and is still giving such a marvellous impulse to the agricultural progress of the Bombay Presidency.

'A permanent settlement,' he says, 'favours the landholder at the expense of the community at large, and the loss to the future revenue that it involves, would have to be met by taxation. *All arguments in favour of the measure must rest, then, upon the assumption that a revenue raised from the rent of land presses more heavily upon the industry of a country than an equivalent revenue raised in other ways.* And reasons that would suffice to establish the advantage of a permanent settlement of the land assessment, would also suffice to'

establish the advantage of abolishing it altogether? Would India really be benefited if the whole or any portion of the public revenue now derived from the rent of land were to be relinquished, and the amount so given up to be raised by taxation instead? This is the real issue, and a most important one it is.

In order to arrive at a clear understanding of this important question, the essential distinctions between rent and taxation must be kept in view. *Rent, in the estimation of modern economists, results from land varying in fertility and in advantages of situation, which makes it to be of more value in one place than in another.* On the more valuable land a greater amount of produce can be raised for the same outlay than on the less valuable land; but as the latter must suffice to remunerate the occupier, the excess of produce yielded by all kinds of land above that of the worst in cultivation, constitutes a rent, which can have no influence in enhancing the cost of cultivation, as this is determined by the cost of cultivating the least favourably situated land, which yields no rent. Rent may therefore be received entirely by a landlord, or be shared between him and other parties in many different ways, without affecting the cost of agricultural production in the slightest degree. For example, in England the rent of land is burdened with payments of various kinds for local rates, interest of mortgages, and private settlements, which diminish the share left for the landlord; but these burdens do not affect the cost of production at all, which remains exactly what it would have been, had the entire rent been received by the landlord.

The land assessment of India, when of moderate amount, as in the surveyed districts of the Bombay Presidency, is merely a share of the natural rent that the land must yield when in cultivation, and has therefore no prejudicial influence upon production. And herein consists its distinction from taxation in any form. The latter raises the price of the commodity taxed, and so interferes with its consumption.

Now, able as the paper generally is, this extract contains a singularly large number of misapprehensions. In the first place the law of rent as therein stated is not the law throughout, or even in the greater part of India. Economists (including J. S. Mill from whom the theory is taken) draw the widest distinction between countries cultivated by farmers and those cultivated by peasants. To the former the theory here laid down as universal applies, but not to the latter. "The existence," says Jones in his *Distribution of Wealth*, p. 153, "of rent under a system of cottier tenants, is in no degree dependent upon the existence of different qualities of soil, or of different returns to the stock and labour employed. Where no funds sufficient to support the body of the labourers are in existence, they must raise food themselves from the earth or starve; and this circumstance would make them tributary to the landlords, and give rise to rents, and, as their number increased, to very high rents, though

"all the lands were perfectly equal in quality." And "under the head of cottier rents we may," he says, "include all rents contracted to be paid in money by peasant tenants, extracting their own maintainance from the soil." And all peasant rents, he shows in other parts of his elaborate review of the Theory of Rent, differ from cottier rents, only in so far as custom regulates the proportion of produce which is to be paid to the superior owner. Into no kind of peasant rent does diversity between qualities of soils enter as an influencing element.

With this J. S. Mill agrees. "The effect," he says, "of the cottier tenure is to bring the principle of population to act directly on the land, and not, as in England, on capital," (and through it, as he has shown before, on the rent of different qualities of land). "Rent, in this state of things, depends on the proportion between population and land."

A very obvious truth indeed, though one which is curiously often left out of sight by even the best revenue officers in this country. Were it understood and kept well in mind, we should not see such a frequent endeavour on the part of even our ablest official writers to connect the rise of rents with increase of irrigation, extension of cultivation, or even with a rise of price for agricultural produce. Where cottier tenure prevails, all three conditions may be found, and yet if population do not increase fast, rents may continue stationary.

This law of cottier rents will alone account for certain phenomena in the history of the Indian land revenue. In many parts, the first years of British régime have been marked by a very large increase of cultivation contemporary with a curious diminution of rents. This was observed by Dr. Buchanan, when examining the condition of Goruckpur some few years after its cession. It has been noted in Oudh and in the settlement of the Central Provinces, and has puzzled several observers. It would in fact be quite inexplicable, if the law of rents in India were really what Sir George Wingate thought it to be. Rents that come under his law *must* rise as cultivation extends. For of course it is the best lands that are taken up first. The rents of those best lands are measured by the degree in which each of them surpasses in productiveness the worst lands cultivated at the time; which, as Sir George Wingate rightly says, under this law yield no rent at all. By the extension of cultivation still worse lands are brought under tillage: and each of the classes of land already tilled, is raised a step in the matter of rent, which therefore rises, instead of falling, all round. But there is no such necessary result under the law of cottier rents. Their amount, depending on the proportion between population and cultivated land, will fall, as has been observed in the Indian example above noted, when cultivation extends, and population remains stationary.

Next, the distinction which Sir George Wingate drew between taxation and rent, is, *quâ* the issue which he put before himself, absolutely non-existent. Rent, he holds, and very rightly, has no effect on the price of agricultural produce. The rent of a held—nay, of a whole tract, might be doubled without altering the price of the grain therein grown. The effect of its diminution would be equally *nil*. "If all "landlords," says Mill (v. iii. § 2), "were unanimously to forego "their rent, they would but transfer it to the farmer without "benefiting the consumer." But in the very same chapter, he shows that a tax on rents has just as little effect of this kind as rents themselves. There is no mystery about the matter. Rents depend on one set of circumstances, prices on another. You may operate on one of those sets without affecting the other in the least degree. Rents may be taxed to any extent, short of confiscation, without altering the circumstances that affect the price of produce.

The ground being thus cleared, the effect of the land revenue on agricultural prosperity may now be discussed without pausing to consider whether it is really a rent or a tax.

It is singular that the very argument which Sir George Wingate adduced to prove the wisdom of taxing land, should not have shown him how needful it was for the State to hold its hand in doing so. It being true that such a tax in no way affects the price of produce, is it not clear that it falls wholly on the landed interest, and not on the consumer of land produce? In the case of ordinary taxes the burden is not borne wholly by the interest upon which it falls immediately, but is more or less thrown on other classes in the community. A tax on tea falls partly on the tea grower, partly on the tea importer, partly on the tea drinker. The tea importer, feeling the burden of the tax, tries to recoup himself from the tea drinker; the latter again, feeling the rise of price, diminishes his consumption. The demand for tea diminishing, capital invested in the tea trade ceases to bear such high profits as of old, and a portion of it is diverted into other channels of business. The balance between supply and demand being restored in the tea trade, the supplier is no longer under the necessity of selling his tea at a sacrifice, so that eventually the whole rise of price is borne by the consumer and, as he diminishes his consumption, by the tea grower. But, first and last, a tax on land falls on the landed interest alone.

Let us take every variety of that interest in turn.

First.—Take the case of peasant proprietorship. The demand for agricultural produce being such as to secure a price of twenty shillings a quarter, the peasant is able to live in comfort, and yet pay a rate of two shillings for the land that produces that

quarter. The rate is raised to four, but the demand for agricultural produce continuing what it was, it will fetch no higher price than twenty shillings a quarter as of old, and of this the peasant has to pay more to the State, and can keep less for himself than before.

Next, as to cottier tenants. The density of population and consequent demand for land enabling the landlord to get a rent of twenty shillings an acre, he can pay five shillings of that rent to the State, and yet keep up his position on the remainder without getting into debt. The State decides to take ten shillings an acre. He cannot in his turn raise his rents,* for the demand for land has not increased, and as prices are what they were, his tenants cannot afford to pay more. He, therefore, has to go into debt in order to keep up his position.

Third.—Farmer tenants. The amount of available capital in the country and consequent demand for farms to be *exploité* enables the landlord to get, say, the same rent, and to live in the same style as above, so long as the State demand remains what it was. On its increase he cannot raise his rents, because, agricultural prices continuing what they were, the farmer cannot afford to pay more, and, if forced to do so, will take his capital elsewhere.

Have we been unduly prolix? It was clearly necessary to be so, seeing how general is the cry that the burden of taxation should fall upon the land *because* such taxation does not increase the price of produce, and, therefore, does not check its growth. Let those who urge this view realize to themselves the fact, that they are thereby advocating a tax to be borne exclusively by one section of the community, and *that* the most important one in this country. Others there are who join in the same cry and reach the same conclusion from other premises, saying, "The land belongs to the State, which, therefore, is justly entitled to make the land pay for its wants." We have not the smallest quarrel with the conclusion of these gentlemen as a theoretical truism; only let them too consider what follows if they carry that theory into practice. One of the great interests in the State is unduly depressed, and burdened out of proportion to the rest.

Let us pass on from *a priori* arguments to those drawn from actual experience. The impugnors of permanent settlements bring up the experience of the few years that have expired since the measure was accepted, as conclusively showing how necessary it is to pause before closing for ever the main source of increase to the State

* Of course he can and does under the North-West settlement system, if in order to deceive the taxing officer, cultivation and rents have been kept unnaturally low. But we need not take into account an unnatural system, due to State action.

revenue ; and there can be no doubt that the State does make a heavy sacrifice where it sanctions a permanent settlement *in its present form*.

The very staunchest advocate of settlement in perpetuity has found himself beaten from his ground by the facts which came to light in Pergunnah Bhagput—a tract cultivated and developed up to its highest point probably, yet lowly assessed hitherto—so lowly in fact that to fix the full revenue now would be to increase the burden by 62 per cent. on the average—a sudden increase which no body of proprietors could bear. In this particular case the remedy appears easy and obvious. Fix the full revenue at once ; but enable the proprietors to prepare for its full incidence by allowing remissions for the first five or even ten years. The remedy has been applied elsewhere in the North-West Provinces ; it has been applied in Oudh ; and, as was shown so long ago as 1815 by Lord Moira, it in no way conflicts with the wholesome rule against a gradually increasing assessment, based on *prospective* increase of assets.

But the impugnors of permanent settlement are prepared with a more formidable argument from actual experience. In the districts of Boolundshuhur, Mozuffurnuggur and Saharunpur, the only districts* in which there has been any time to judge the working of the new assessments, no sooner were they declared than rents, which had previously been unnaturally low, suddenly increased, to such an extent indeed as to reduce the State share of the assets in many estates to a third instead of the regulation moiety.

Well, this is a grave fact, and shews that permanent settlement *in its present form* would result in too great a loss to Government. But is it not to be noted that this fact, adduced to show the inexpediency of a permanent settlement, might with greater fitness be regarded as an example of the vices belonging to a system of periodical re-assessments ? Can it be good for the landed interest (either landlords or tenants) that enhancement of rent should be long postponed, and then be suddenly put in force ? Can a system be wisely organized, which involves a gradual diminution of energy, and then a somewhat convulsive start into fresh life, which in fact contemplates as natural a progression by fits and starts ? The words of J. S. Mill's oft-quoted opinion as to the effect of leases for a term of years are fully realized in the settlements of the North-West Provinces. When the State lease is near its expiry, improvements are checked, land is thrown out of cultivation, and rents are allowed to remain unnaturally low. The new jumma is declared, and then the sleeping castle starts into life again. Rents rise with a bound, and im-

* Goruckpur we except. The notion of enhancement of rent has barely crept into that remote district, where rents, to a very large extent indeed, confine themselves to the Government demand on the landlord.

provements are largely and increasingly effected ; till through the mist of the future, the re-settlement begins again to loom, when the energies of landlord and tenant are again smitten with the old paralysis, to the grievous loss and injury of all the parties concerned.

The next argument brought against permanent settlement—still viewed in its financial aspect—is the impossibility of providing an adequate revenue by taxing the trading and money-dealing classes. At present, it is true, our endeavours in this direction have been unsuccessful ; but this failure is far from showing that they would not have succeeded under different conditions. For our part, we are confident that an income tax, fixed at its first low figure, and worked by officers fully alive to the imperious necessities of the State, would not have failed. It would indeed be a melancholy prospect for both Government and people, if our rulers were constrained to confess that equality of taxation was a demonstrated impossibility—that the only plan whereby to supply the needs of the State, was an indefinite increase to the burdens borne by a single class of the community. We shall, at any rate, have to achieve the impossible, if impossible it be. No system of land tenures will avail to ward it off. Long before the present settlements have come to an end, the opium revenue will have well-nigh passed into the things that were. The wants of the administration, we may be certain, will not cease to grow ; they may be forcibly cut down for a time, but only to reappear more exacting and imperious than ever. The trading classes need entertain no doubts about this ; the success of the income tax is for their interest ; otherwise succession taxes, and much else besides.

But again, the question of permanent settlement has been reviewed in its social and political aspect, and it has appeared doubtful whether it would be so beneficial to the men whom we desire to foster. Tracts have turned up in the already permanently settled tracts of the Benares Division, which show that the old zemindars, whose maintenance is both socially and politically desirable, have been displaced by the money-dealers, their creditors. The grant by the State of leases for ever on a fixed rent will not therefore, it is urged, save these men from falling. Of course not, so long as they are unequally weighted in the race with other competing interests. In the struggle for existence—it does not need a Darwin to enlighten us here—the class against which there are most disadvantages, must give way. If then you are to preserve the old landlords of the country from ruin, you must see that they bear no more than their proper share of the national burdens. You may, if you like, try other expedients—endeavour, for instance, to prop up the class, as in the North-West Provinces by giving the executive a voice in the sale of

land under decrees for debt ; or, as in Oudh, by a bill for the protection of taluqdars against the consequences of their own extravagance. You may, by these efforts, stave off disaster for a generation, and that is something ; but if you prolong the attempt, you will find, like the memorable Mrs. Parkington, that, in spite of your broom, the waves will relentlessly mount over the threshold you desire to defend.

III.

Such will be the disappointment to your hopes, such failure will attend your efforts, so long as the landed interest—the greatest in the country—continues in its present depressed condition, while traders and money-dealers, hungry for the land, continue untaxed, to enjoy the protection and the Courts of Justice specially adapted for the enforcement of their claims, which at no period of Indian history did they enjoy before.

To raise the landed interest from its present state of depression ; to enable land-owners to hold their own against their creditors ; to prevent the gradual extinction of the old families * that still remain, and the consequent reduction of the agricultural community to the uniform dead level, which has been so justly made the subject of criticism as the result of our rule in certain parts ; to guard against the elements of political danger that reside in a society so disintegrated—nothing, we still hold, can have an effect so powerful as perpetuity of settlement. None of the arguments, which, gathering strength from 1861 to 1864, finally led the Government of India and the Council at Home to decide on the measure, have been impugned. The time has come to recapitulate them.

First of all, it was seen and shown by Colonel Baird Smith, that if the thirty years' lease of the North-West Provinces had wrought such marvels in stimulating agricultural improvement and thereby rendering the famine of 1860 much less calamitous than that of 1833, how much more might be expected if a lease were given for ever. This is of course true. If it were not enough to say that, human nature being what it is, a lease for ever must inspire more confidence and provoke more enterprise in improvements than one for a term of years, we have actual experience to show that at the close of the existing terms, improvement, as might have been expected, is checked. It has been said that allowance is made for improvements on the revision of settlements. Certainly

* In the term "old families" we have no desire to include the minutely subdivided coparcenaries of Brahmans and Rajputs, who are to be found existing in a dead-alive condition in parts of the country ; poor and proud and ill-conditioned ; up to any meanness, but to no exertion. Hasten their inevitable fall by all means ; when fallen from their proprietary estate, they may cease to be ashamed to dig.

it is true that general and very indefinite instructions to this effect are issued, but what is the actual practice? In every district the rates applied to irrigated are higher than those applied to unirrigated lands, sometimes double as high. The number of wells in the district at the time of settlement is investigated and made one of the data of assessment. So is the greater or less carefulness of cultivation. So is the proportion of better, more expensive, but more profitable crops grown. In some districts again the weight of the assessment turns on the greater or less amount of land manured in the village.

Listen to the words in which Sir W. Muir in his minute of 15th December 1861 showed the inefficacy of the existing system to protect improvements from assessment:—

‘When any large disbursement is now contemplated, it is perfectly natural for the proprietor to hesitate. He will reflect whether it is after all, worth his while to sink Rs. 1,000, say, in a well, which shall add Rs. 200 to his rental, seeing that, in consequence of this increased profit, he may be sure that, at the next settlement, Rs. 100 will be added to the assessment of his estate.

Had the settlement been permanent, there would in such a case have been no doubt about the matter; when the settlement is temporary, the project in all likelihood is cast aside.

The inexpediency (if not, under some circumstances, injustice) of such a course has not escaped notice. The late Court of Directors ruled* that a liberal consideration was to be given for all improvements effected at the expense of the occupant, especially recent improvements ‘with regard to which he has reaped the advantage only for a short period.’ The 37th Rule for re-settlement, issued in 1854, contains a still stronger injunction to make allowance for the expenditure of capital and to assess a correspondingly moderate jumma.† But it is evident that the principle prescribed by the Honourable Court is of too vague a character to effect any certain results; and even the rule issued by the Board must prove practically inoperative so far as security to the landlord is concerned. It would be a matter, not of exact calculation, but of mere speculation, what portion of increased productiveness was attributable to the

* Despatch dated 13th August 1851. This laid down that “although settlements must be formed with reference to the value of the land at the time,” still a liberal consideration was to be “given for the improvements attributive only to the efforts of the tenant himself, and especially with regard to such as are of a comparatively recent date, and with regard to which he has reaped the advantage only for a short period under the old settlement.”

† “In villages the cultivation of which has been much extended since the settlement by the breaking up of new land, or the percentage of irrigation increased by the sinking of new wells or other improvements, the expenditure of capital must be allowed and a moderate jumma assessed”—Rule 37.

investment of capital. Generally the assessment of an estate is affected by so many considerations, and depends so greatly on the opinion of the settlement officer, that the rule, as a ground of confidence in the future, could afford to proprietors no practical satisfaction, and is not calculated to diminish the uncertainty of reaping the full results of labour and capital, which is the bane of all temporary settlements.'

In the columns of the *Pioneer* some two months ago there was a controversy on this very point—whether the profits due to improvements were to be assessed by the State. A critic,—himself, there were grounds for thinking, a settlement officer, or drawing his conclusions from the opinions of settlement officers—condemned Mr. Elliott's assessment of Furruckabad, on the ground that he had allowed improving land-owners, who had constructed wells, to enjoy the profit of their improvements untaxed. The very fact that such a view could be entertained by (if our notion is correct) one engaged in settlements, seems to us, sufficient condemnation of a periodical re-valuation of the assets on which the Government revenue is to be calculated.

On the Bombay side the question has perpetually cropped up. An instance or two may be given from the settlement reports which have casually come under the writer's eye.

In the settlement of Tanna some twenty years ago, the Collector objected to the well rates assessed by the revenue surveyor, urging that the capital expended in improvements should not be taxed. But his objection was disallowed, on the ground that by the custom of the country Government had a prescriptive right to tax the wells.

But, later on as the improved survey and settlement was extended to fresh districts, opinion began to change. A distinction was drawn between wells heretofore constructed and wells that might be constructed hereafter; the former being taxed as before, and the latter being exempted—a distinction between capital heretofore, and capital to be henceforward, expended in improvements, not very logical or based upon the eternal fitness of things; but admirably suited for the object intended, to give confidence to land-owners who, disregarding the past, might wish henceforth, to spend money in improving their estates. The blot was seized on by the revenue surveyor in the Kaira Collectorate, and a still more liberal policy was urged by him.

'We attempt,' he said, 'to defend the false principle of taxing capital expended in sinking wells, by the argument that, as the produce of garden land is greater, so the share thereof due to Government should be in the same proportion. I have never been able to understand the force of this argument, or to recognize the right which the State claims to a higher assessment on lands irrigated by wells con-

structed out of the hard-earned savings of the cultivators; and with the liberal provisions of Section XXX* of the Survey Act patent to all, I see immense difficulty in convincing the ryots of the justness of our *present* claim on their wells. Why, Sir, have we such difficulty in making the incidence of the well assessment equitable? Simply, I submit, because we cannot make right in practice what is wrong in principle.'

•The result was the imposition of a still more moderate assessment on wells found in existence at the time of settlement.

As to the future, 'nothing could be more assuring than the guarantee given by legislative enactment (Sec. 30 of the Survey Act I of 1865) that in a district which had once been brought under the improved survey and settlement, whatever improvements occupants might henceforth make, would *never* be taxed. And the Bombay survey and settlement department has accepted the logical consequence of the guarantee thus given to improvements. If, at the re-valuation of the land assets on the expiry of a settlement, no account is to be taken of the increase due to the exertions of the land-owners, what remains? The increase due to other causes, those which are not effected by the exertions of individuals, increased rental due to increased population; improved means of communication; greater demand for produce, &c. These in an agricultural district will all, we take it, resolve themselves into, and manifest themselves by, increase of prices. And consequently, the Bombay settlement officers practically base their revised assessment on considerations as to the rise of prices since the time when the last fair assessment was made. One thing is still wanting to complete the admirable system which they have worked out. They should announce to the landed interest the rule on which they virtually act, *viz.*, that the assessment, once made, will be regulated by the average price of grain at fixed intervals of, say, every fifteen years.

All this time we have been engaged in considering what has certainly been throughout kept in view, as the main object of fixing the land assessment in perpetuity. But for this aim, the matter would never have been mooted by Colonel Baird Smith; but for its recognition by all consulted, his words would have been without result. When his conclusions were accepted, however, people

* In illustration of this practice, see the following extract from the Report on the revised Settlement of the Sudapur Taluq:—

"I am of opinion that we may take the average price of grain during the "latter half of the second decennial series, as the index by which we may "estimate from prices what our present assessment ought to be. In other "words, the percentage of increase which has taken place during the last ten "years, will represent generally the percentage of addition to the present "assessment which may now be made." (Bombay Selections, New Series, CVII. p. 74, 1866).

saw in the measure to which he pointed, a relief from certain evils of which they had long been conscious, but for which they had seen no remedy. It had often seemed hard to our administrators, that while settlement operations were going on (and they had not long come to an end in one part of the North-Western Provinces, before they began in another), the administration should be deprived of the services of some of its best men, picked out for this special work. It was, and is still, like the harm done to the army by the practice before the mutiny of draining regiments of their best officers for staff employ. Now, considering that, under our system of administration, it is on the energy, discretion and ability of the ordinary district officers, that the security and order of the empire, and the prosperity of the people depend; that nothing but the most constant watchfulness on their part can guard against the occurrence of terrible abuses to which a centralized system of Government, unchecked by an omnipresent public opinion, is peculiarly liable; that on them depends all our knowledge of the wants and opinions of the masses, how our laws affect them, how our instructions are working among them—few mistakes, we think, could be more disastrous than this practice of taking away the best and ablest workers, to be rewarded with higher pay, far more interesting work, and less of the hampering control, harassing correspondence, and time-frittering requisitions, that vex the souls of their less fortunate brother officers in district work, under a variety of matters, each entitled to make calls on his attention. And yet it is a necessity. So much in the work of assessment must be left to the discretion of the settlement officer, so little to the supervision of any controller, that the very best men must be selected to bear, without abusing, the responsibility that is cast on them. If, therefore, the assessment is to be revised every thirty years or so, the service of the officers best qualified to ameliorate the country will continue to be drawn away to other employments.

The next thought was of the heavy expense caused to Government. Thirty-two lakhs have been spent on settlement operations in the North-Western Provinces during the last eight years.

But if the expense to the State is heavy, that to the country is infinitely greater. Corrupt as the subordinate establishments generally are, in no line are they so irrepressibly corrupt as in the settlement department. At every stage of the many operations either a bribe is given to induce a false entry in favour, or a fee to prevent one in disfavour, of the giver. Every official who visits the village, is entertained at its expense, and, besides that, is exposed to the above temptation. The party of surveyors who prepare the papers in the first instance; the examining officers who come to check them; the establishment of writers who analyse and fair them out; one and all prey upon the tract during the progress

of settlement operations—with more or less success, it is true, according to the vigilance of the settlement officer; but with *much* success even under the best officer, seeing that every one concerned is willing to buy off their powers of doing lasting evil by a present payment. That clever book—the confessions of Panchkowree Khan—long ago forewarned a young settlement officer what he had to expect. But he found himself powerless to prevent the people from giving these fees and bribes, though able, to some extent at least, to prevent them from producing much effect in the way of fraud and falsification of papers. This evil, with the advantage of preventing its future recurrence by fixing the assessment in perpetuity, is also fully recognized in the papers of 1861-62 on the subject.

Again, attention was directed to the low selling price of land in the temporarily settled districts of the North-Western Provinces, and the higher price which, *ceteris paribus*, it fetched in the permanent settled tracts of the Benares Division. And it is of course natural that it should be so. A buyer will not be inclined to give the ordinary number of years' purchase to which the rate of interest of the day would point, when he knows that, a few years hence, the State tax on his purchase will be reassessed according to the idiosyncracies of an officer to him unknown, no doubt the best whom Government can pick out, but mortal and fallible, and served by men, of whose power to do him harm he can have no certainty, but whom he will certainly have to appease.

Lastly, when the matter was discussed in 1861-2, much stress was justly laid on the political importance of giving the land-owners in general an interest in the maintenance of the British Government, as a power which had not only guaranteed to them the possession of their land, but had also definitely fixed for ever the amount which they were to pay for it.

We have thus recounted the evils which it was the object of the authors of permanent settlement to remedy. The following extract from Sir C. Wood's great despatch of 9th July 1862 succinctly summarizes the most prominent of them.

'It must also be remembered that all revisions of assessment, although occurring only at intervals of thirty years, nevertheless demand for a considerable time previous to their expiration much of the attention of the most experienced civil officers, whose services can be ill-spared from their regular administrative duties. Under the best arrangements the operation cannot fail to be harassing, vexatious, and perhaps even oppressive, to the people affected by it. The work can only be accomplished by the aid of large establishments of native ministerial officers, who must of necessity have great opportunities for peculation, extortion and abuse of power. Moreover, as the period for re-settlement approaches, the agricultural classes, with the view of evading a true estimate of the actual value of their lands, contract

their cultivation, cease to grow the most profitable crops, and allow wells and water-courses to fall into decay. These practices are certainly more detrimental to themselves than to the Government, but there can be no question that they prevail extensively. The remedy for these evils, the needless occupation of the valuable time of the public officers employed in the revision, the extortion of the subordinate officials, and the loss of wealth to the community from the deterioration of cultivation, lies in a permanent settlement of the land revenue.

IV.

But can we apply that remedy without exposing the State to financial loss? Unless we can show that this is possible, there is little hope that the defenders of permanent settlement can hold their ground in these times of financial pressure.

Clearly it is possible, if Government here and at home will accept the solution which the Madras Government urged in 1855, again in 1862, and yet again quite recently,—confident that truth will conquer in the end, though its advocates may be rebuffed for a time.

The assessment of Madras had, in 1792 and for many years, been fixed in perpetuity, but afterwards ceased to bear that character, owing to the remissions which its excessive weight had necessitated. Consequently in 1855, it was determined to revise the assessments on the basis of taking on an average one-fourth, and never more than 30 per cent., of the gross produce. The old ratio had been one-half. The Madras Government proposed that "the assessment should be fixed in grain for a term of 50 years, and that the commuted value of the latter should be periodically adjusted every seven or ten years, according to its average money value in those periods. The Home Government objected to this arrangement, and gave the preference to an assessment in money, unalterable for thirty years. The subject was discussed by the Government, which ultimately decided that the assessment should be revised after fifty years, if then deemed expedient." In 1861 the Madras Government was asked what it thought of Colonel Baird Smith's proposal to offer an incentive to improvement by fixing the land tax in perpetuity. Sir W. Denison answered in a very able paper. Accepting Baird Smith's conclusion that the assessment should be promptly made permanent, in what commodity, he asked, should it be payable—corn or money? Not in money, but in the money value of corn at the time, because, he said,

'The effect of adopting the existing money value of the crop as the basis of the perpetual settlement would be to place the tenant in a position to which he has no claim. I assume that a revision has been made of the assessment—that everything has been done which

could be expected from the best landlord. Under such circumstances the tenant can have no right to the collateral advantages which spring out of the gradual cheapening of money, or the alteration of the relation existing between it and the produce of various kinds. This is the landlord's fair due, and indeed it is the only means by which he can manage to escape the difficulties arising out of the fixed character of the payments made to him, and the ever-varying, but steadily increasing, price of labour and other commodities.'

Sir W. Denison's colleagues objected, but under the misconception that his proposal involved an *annual* commutation of the assessment in corn into its then market values. And unhappily when the proposal reached the Government of India, Mr. Laing viewed it in the same light, and, in this view, justly condemned it as failing to give the security which is the great object of settlements of every kind. Another difficulty was raised by him: but the place for considering it will come further on.

Sir Bartle Frere discussed the proposal in a very airy off-hand manner, and, like the most talented men when they do so, committed himself to a statement which a very few years upset. He said (1) that, forcible as were Sir W. Denison's arguments in favour of grain rents and a revision say fifty years hence, they were outweighed by the reasons for certainty and fixity of demand in all dealings between the Government and the cultivator, and (2) that there was no necessity for providing for greater fluctuations in the price of grain, and in the value of the precious metals, than had taken place during the past 200 years. How he must have regretted that he committed himself to this last hasty dictum, were he in the country now, and found that in the districts to which he helped to extend the permanent settlement, the buying power of money had diminished by about one-fourth in eight years, owing chiefly to the 150 * millions sterling of silver poured into the country in those and the previous seven years.

His first ground of objection calls for a little more examination, because it is the stock argument of those who oppose assessment in grain. It comes to this, that to fix a demand in money (which 30 years hence may possibly buy 33 per cent. more corn than it does now) is to give greater security to the cultivator than if you fix that demand in corn, which thirty years hence may possibly fetch 33 per cent. higher price than it does now. So inveterately do some—nay, most men live and move and have their mental being on the surface of things. What, for the purposes kept in view by the advocates of a permanent settlement, is the meaning

See *Political Economy*, Book V, ch. ii, § 5.

* £149, 192, 525, from 1855-6 to the end of February last.

of fixity of demand? Not the meaning which is ascribed to it in Bengal, where the rupee, which in 1793 bought a maund and a half of rice, will not now buy more than fifteen seers. It means an assurance to the cultivator or land-owner that he may make what improvement he likes, certain that the demand made upon him will depend no longer on the power of research, judgment, discretion, in one word on the idiosyncracies of a particular assessor, nor be subject to any other alteration than that which occurs from time to time in the average run of prices in the country. Had Sir B. Frere, or any of those who have since taken the same superficial view of the matter, looked at what J. S. Mill says on the subject of taxation, he and they would have found reason to hold that a tax regulated on this principle, is the most equitable, endowed with the greatest number of the elements of certainty, of all taxes that can be imagined.

Anyhow, unfounded and superficial as were Sir B. Frere's arguments, they commended themselves to Lord Canning, and he condemned as "inadequate the object for which Sir W. Denison desired a fluctuating assessment."

There the matter rested for a time, but two years ago the Madras Government, reporting the settlement of Salem, revived the question. The basis of that settlement was as usual one-fourth of the gross produce, ascertained by a series of a very elaborate and expensive experiments. The value was then fixed in money on the average prices of the last twenty years, and the Government demand fixed for the next thirty years. The Madras Government proposed that at the end of that period there should be no fresh ascertainment of the produce; but that to the amount of grain due to Government as now ascertained, new commutation-rates should be applied, based on the average prices of the intervening period. This proposal the Secretary of State disapproved, viewing it as a sacrifice of the right of the State to its fair share of the increased value conferred on the land by improved administration, by the construction of irrigation works and improved communications, and by the improved price of agricultural produce. The rejoinder from the Madras Government was unanswerable. The Government share of the *increased value* conferred on the land by the above causes, must, they showed, almost invariably take the form of a higher *price* of the Government share of the produce, i.e., if the demand was to be increased at the end of thirty years, the increase must be proportionate to the rise in the prices of produce during the interval. Why then deny to the investors of capital in land the inducement which would be given by the assurance that this and no re-valuation of the assets, which by the way would cause a very heavy expense to Government, should be the basis of re-settlement?

The final decision of the Secretary of State, when he received this rejoinder, was one of those remarkable concessions of the point really at issue, coupled with a refusal to put the concession in such a *form* as would make it a complete success, which are so often adopted as the best mode of avoiding the acknowledgment of a previous mistake. He allowed a formal, public, and distinct assurance to be given to the land-owners that when the settlement came to an end, their improvements should not be taxed. The revision of settlement, he said, would not be attended by any fresh classification and investigation of the producing powers of the different soils. It would, on the contrary, be based on a consideration of "any general cause of increase or decrease that might have come into operation since the previous settlement," and the effect of such increase or decrease would be the addition or subtraction of a corresponding percentage on the amount of the old grain assessments.

How, may we ask, would such increase or decrease manifest itself except in an increase or decrease in the price of produce? * And as the *proportion* of the produce to be taken by Government would not alter, what would this addition or subtraction of a percentage be, but a commutation of the value of the Government share at the increased or diminished market price of the time? One question more—why hesitate to put in words what you have accepted in fact? As you have assured the people that you will *not* tax their improvements, why not complete your assurance, by telling them that what you *will* tax, will be the difference between average prices now and average prices hereafter? The Madras Government has, we conceive, only to press for permission to give *this* assurance, and the measure which it involves and which the authorities have long advocated will be an accomplished fact. All the premises having been conceded, the conclusion cannot much longer be evaded.

As far as Madras is concerned then, the victory may be considered, as already won. But is Madras alone to benefit? Is that province alone to possess a system of assessment, which combines fixity of demand together with a progressive revenue? It already partly supplies the loss which the permanent settlement of Bengal† has caused to the State. Must it also bear a share of the loss which that of the North-West Provinces will cause? Or shall those

* It is to be remarked that the mode of dealing with tracts to which it was likely that irrigation from Government works would be extended, was made a subject of quite separate consideration.

† Mr. Laing in his minute on permanent settlement showed by an elaborate calculation of figures that Madras contributed to the empire 5s. 4d., and Bengal only 4s. 9d. per head of the population. We all know well which is the richer of the two, and which ought to contribute most.

Provinces too be made, by the introduction of a like measure, a similar source of progressively increasing revenue?*

Let it be considered how much is gained that it is desirable to gain, how much is avoided that it is expedient to avoid, by the adoption of this small change. The State gains a revenue, the increase of which will correspond with that very rise of prices by which much of its increasing expenditure is caused. It gains a security for the loyalty of the land-owners, based, on their sense of interest, and without the sacrifice involved in the attempt to gain this object by permanent settlement in its *present* form. And it avoids the heavy expense, and the temporary diversion of the services of its best officers, which temporary settlements cause. The land-owners gain a security that their improvements will never be taxed, and that their contribution to State necessities will never depend on the discretion of any one man. They gain a power of disposing of their land at high prices. They avoid the heavy contributions which they now willingly pay at the recurrence of each re-settlement. And they escape the loss in low rents and poor cultivation, which they now with the same object willingly undergo for some time previously.

We have called the proposed change a small one, and so it is. The settlements already concluded in the North-Western Provinces might be adapted to it with very great ease. Say that the land tax of a village has been fixed, by the settlement officer at rupees 1,000; which is, say, equivalent to the price of 400 maunds of wheat—the average price during the last fifteen years. Fix then the payment of the village at 400 maunds of wheat in perpetuity—to be commuted into its present price, *i.e.*, Rs. 1,000, and, say, fifteen or twenty years hence, into the amount given by the average prices of the intervening period.

But there still remains a difficulty. It is the one which weighed most with Mr. Laing when he condemned Sir W. Denison's proposal in 1862. He then expressed himself to the following effect:—

‘There is no grain which, like wheat in England, affords a tolerably uniform and accurate measure of the value of ‘money’ as

* An idea of what this progressive increase would be, may be gathered by supposing that it had been possible to arrange the now expiring settlement of the North-Western Provinces on this basis. Prices of produce have since that time risen in some places 75 per cent, in few places less than 25 per cent. This increase would now be coming into the coffers of the Treasury, without any of the heavy loss and expense which, as we have shown, a re-settlement causes both to State and people. As a matter of fact, it would not have been possible to have made a fiscal valuation of estates thirty years ago. As the great R. M. Bird showed in his closing minute, it was then found so necessary to fix the demand, not so much at what the villages ought to pay, as at what, from their habits of frugality or otherwise, they could and would pay, that equable valuation was impossible.

measured in 'commodities.' Wheat does so in England very imperfectly, for a thousand different causes affect the range of price over a long period, as well as the mere supply of the precious metals. But in India one district consumes wheat, another rice, another dhol, or some of the many forms of pulse of which we hardly know the names, and the accidents of a wet or dry season, the want of communications throughout such a vast country, and other circumstances, cause enormous fluctuations, often of hundreds per cent. in the market price of grain between one year or district and another. I am satisfied, therefore, that Mr. Maltby (the chief objector in Madras) is quite right in saying that any form of grain rent would utterly fail to give that security which is the great object of having a settlement at all; and that a fixed money rent, even for a comparatively short period, would be preferable.'

Now there is apparently some confusion in the wording here. If what Mr. Laing wanted was a measure of value, constant in all places and through changing times; then we say, that what is really wanted is *not* such a one, but rather a changing measure, changing with the circumstances of different places, and with the alteration which the progress of time effects in those circumstances—one in fact that shall give a correct indication of what each rupee of his tax is worth to the taxpayer at a particular place and period of time. And if this is what Mr. Laing desired, then we say that such a measure *is* given by the particular staple of each different tract of country.

Ay, but what is that staple? It appears to us that, as the object is to measure the profits of the land-owner, that species of grain might well be selected as the staple of the tract, which is generally taken by the village Bunnias in payment of their debts. In Lower Bengal and the Terai it would be rice. In Behar and the bulk of Northern India it would be wheat. In the tract south-west of Delhi it would probably be grain. At any rate this is a matter of detail, and we cannot conceive that, if the measure which we have proposed were accepted on other and broad grounds of expediency, it could be impeded by this minor difficulty.

ART. VIII.—THE WAHHABIS IN INDIA.

No. II.

AMONGST the disciples of Sayyid Ahmad in Baraset was one Nisar Ali *alias* Titu Mir, a resident of the village of Chandpur. His family was above the class of ordinary villagers, and he himself was connected by marriage with one Munshi Amir, a respectable landed proprietor. He was a man of a bad and desperate character. In 1815 he lived as a professional wrestler in Calcutta. He afterwards took service as a lathiyal with some of the Nuddea zemindars, and becoming implicated in an affray, was imprisoned. On his release accident brought him to the notice of a member of the Delhi Royal Family, whom he attended on a pilgrimage to Mecca. There he made the acquaintance of Sayyid Ahmad, who had arrived the previous year (1822), and adopting his doctrines, became his disciple. On his return to India about 1827, he settled down in the village of Haidarpur, not far from his former residence, and began to preach Wahhabi reform. Like Sayyid Ahmad, he inveighed against honouring *pirs*, objected to the erection of shrines, denied the efficacy of offerings in the names of persons deceased, directed his followers to allow their beards to grow and to wear their garments in a peculiar manner, so as to be easily distinguished from their infidel Hindu-neighbours, and forbade them to hold social intercourse with others than those of their own sect. In the course of a few years he became the spiritual chief of three or four hundred devoted followers, and his influence extended over a tract of country varying from eighteen to twenty miles long by twelve or fourteen broad, lying around Narkulbariah near the river Issamatti.

The progress of the sect was looked on with great displeasure by the Hanfi peasantry and Hindu zemindars. The peasantry resented the irreverent manner in which the men of the new faith spoke of their most venerated rites and customs. The zemindars, naturally conservative, listened readily to their complaints, and exerted all their power to check the growth of an association which treated them with disrespect, and exhibited a power of combination which might hereafter seriously affect their interests.

The great success of Sayyid Ahmad in A.D. 1829-1830 affected his followers in Bengal. They became more confident in the success of the movement; they cast aside the method they had hitherto adopted of working quietly and in secret, and openly exhibited their intolerance of other creeds. In August 1830 it was brought to the notice of the Joint Magistrate of Baraset that one Panjab Malik, a Wahhabi, had been fined and imprisoned

by his zemindar for destroying a celebrated Muhammadan ^{or} imper- during the Muharrum. In the beginning of 1831 East-^{ern} India was disturbed, and in April the followers of Shariy-^{ing} Faridpur, who held doctrines somewhat similar to those of an-^{gals} gated by Sayyid Ahmad, openly attacked and plundered ^{hardly} because one of the villagers refused to join his sect. ^{age want}

In June 1831, the oppressive conduct of Kishen Ráy, ^{er cir-} dar of Poorna, on the banks of the Issamutti, brought ^{er cent.} a crisis. He imposed a tax of Rs. 2-8 on each of his ^{lect and} tets ^{objector} were Wahhabis, and aggravated the irritation caused ^{er cent.} by describing the tax as a fine upon beards. ^h proceeding by describing the tax as a fine upon beards. ^h having ^{compara-} ceeded in gathering the tax without opposition in the ^{compara-} Poorna, and then proceeded to collect it in the neighbour-^{ing here-} hood of Surfarazpur. Unfortunately for the success of his ^{stant in} a large number of the followers of Titu Mír (whether ^{that what} or purposely, it is difficult to say) had previously assem-^{measure,} bled in the village; the assesses resisted, and the peons deputed ^{with the} to collect the tax were arrested and confined. Information of the ^{circumstan-} quickly reached the zemindar. Annoyed at such open ^{what each} defiance of his authority, he gathered some two or three hundred ^{place and} men and entered the village. A riot ensued; some houses were ^{to the} burned down. Both parties gave in-^{to the} formation to the Police officer in charge of the Baseerhat Thanah. The zemindar's people accused the followers of Titu Mír of the illegal arrest and confinement of their peons. The defendants charged their accusers with committing plunder and arson. The Thanah muharrir immediately proceeded to the spot, and commenced an enquiry. The zemindar absconded, and after remaining concealed for some time, surrendered himself on the 7th of July to the Joint Magistrate of Baraset, declaring that he knew nothing of the facts of the case and was actually in Calcutta when the riot occurred. In the meantime the daroghah of Baseerhat assumed charge of the local investigation, and in his hands it quickly assumed a different aspect. The original complainants and their witnesses were charged with burning their own mosque to implicate their zemindar in a false charge. This movement was completely successful; the followers of Titu Mír absconded, and did not attend to give evidence in the original case, as attendance would only have led to their arrest, and the daroghah, reporting their absence, declared that the charges of arson and plunder against the zemindar were not sustained by any evidence. Ultimately he sent in both parties to the Magistrate, charging them with mutual affray. This officer appears to have been perfectly helpless in the net-work of intrigue in which the case was involved. The followers of Titu Mír represented that the counter-charge, was not brought till eighteen days after the occurrence; they

charged the daroghah with bribery, and asked to have witnesses summoned in support of their accusation. No attention was paid to these petitions, and after the case had dragged on for some time, both parties were acquitted; but the Wahhabis treasured up a deadly hatred against the daroghah, and a few months after, when he fell into their hands, barbarously butchered him in cold blood.

After the case was decided and both parties had returned to their homes, the followers of Titu Mír are said to have been subjected to great annoyance. The zemindar, it is declared, fraudulently exercised his power to arrest for arrears of rent in order to harass his opponents; he instituted fictitious suits against them in the Civil Court, and had them arrested in execution of the decrees. On the 25th of September, they went down to Calcutta to appeal against the decision of the Joint Magistrate, but finding that the Judge was absent on circuit at Backergunge, returned without doing anything.

At this time, if not before, Titu Mír determined to institute a *jihád*. A short time before, he had been joined by one Miskín Shah, a *faqír* who took up his abode in Titu Mír's house; other followers of Miskín Shah subsequently arrived, and contributions of money were levied from the members of the sect, and employed in purchasing rice and other provisions, which were stored in the house of Mu'izzuddín Biswas, in the village of Narkulbariah. About the 23rd of October, Titu Mír, under pretence of giving an entertainment to the members of his sect, collected his followers, and before the end of the month a large number of men variously armed had assembled.

Some days were spent in erecting a strong bamboo stockade round the village. In the interval information of the assemblage came to the ears of the Poorna zemindar, who, knowing that their first attack would be directed against him, ineffectually petitioned the authorities for assistance. On the morning of November the 6th, the fanatics marched, about 500 strong, to attack Poorna. After murdering a Brahman, they seized two cows belonging to the villagers and slaughtered them in the middle of the market place, defiled a Hindu temple with their blood, and in derision hung up the quarters of the animals before the idol and at the corner of the market-place. This done, they plundered the shops, assaulted a native Christian named Smith, who happened to be passing at the time, maltreated those Muhammadans who did not belong to their sect, openly proclaimed the extinction of the Company's rule, and claimed the sovereign power as the hereditary right of Muhammadans which had been unjustly usurped by Europeans. Everything seems to have been done deliberately and in pursuance of a settled design. The great clamour and confusion which accompany large bodies of Bengalis, were altogether absent. The insurgents affected a

kind of military order, and marched in ranks under the command of one Ghulam Masum.

The next morning they advanced into the Nuddea district, entered Lowghata, a village in which the sect was numerous, and proceeded to slaughter a cow in the Hindu quarter. There they were opposed by the Hindu ryots, and a riot ensued, in which the headman of the village was killed, and his brother and several villagers severely wounded. The insurgents then returned to their head-quarters at Narkulbariah. The next few days were employed in chasing the daroghah who came to investigate the murder at Lowghata; in plundering the villages of Ramchunderpur and Hooghly, and in defiling and forcibly converting the Hindus of the surrounding villages. On the 14th they plundered the house of a respectable Muhammadan of Sherpur, and forcibly married his daughter to the head of their body.

Up to this time the civil authorities seem to have possessed no adequate conception of the gravity of the movement. And yet there were many circumstances which were favourable to the reception of early and authentic information. The tract of country affected comprised portions of two districts, Nuddea and Baraset; it was studded with indigo factories, and was not very far from the Government Salt Agency at Bagundi. As early as the 28th of October information was received by the Magistrate of Baraset that the followers of Titu Mir had assembled in large numbers at Narkulbariah, but so little importance did he attach to the report that he considered two burkundazes sufficient to disperse the multitude. There was nothing more heard for some days, but on the 11th information arrived from several persons of the murders committed by the insurgents, and three jemadars with thirty burkundazes were directed to assist the daroghah of Baseerhat, who declared his inability to cope with the outbreak. Fortunately for the people of Nuddea and Baraset, there were others who did not think so lightly of the movement. On the 11th and 12th November Mr. Piron, the assistant in charge of an indigo factory near the head-quarters of the rebels, wrote to Mr. Storm his employer, who lived in Calcutta. He detailed the atrocities committed up to the 10th, complained of the supineness of the civil authorities at Baraset, and declared that unless some active measures were taken to suppress the disturbances serious danger to the Government would ensue. Mr. Storm took action at once. On the 13th he addressed the Magistrates of Baraset and Nuddea on the subject, and he forwarded his assistant's letters for the inspection of the Deputy Governor. At first Government was inclined to disbelieve the existence of the rebellion; they had received no information which would lead them to believe that such a revolt was expected, and it seemed incredible that so serious an outbreak

could have taken place without some intimation of its approach. This delusion was removed by an official report from the Magistrate of Baraset, which reached Calcutta on the 14th, followed on the 15th by a similar letter from the Magistrate of Nuddea.

Immediate preparations were made to quell the rebellion. A detachment of the Calcutta militia was despatched to the Jessore Salt Agency at Bagundi, and Mr. Alexander was directed to join it there and proceed against the rebels. He set out on the 14th, and after making arrangements at Baseerhat to ensure the co-operation of the daroghah and his burkundazes in the attack, proceeded to Bagundi. On the morning of the 14th he set out to attack the rebels, taking with him one havildar, one jemadar and twenty sepoy. At 9 A.M. he reached Badurreah, about six miles from the rebel camp, and was joined by the daroghah with a large body of burkundazes and chaukidars. The whole force amounted to about 120 men. After a short halt they proceeded in search of the enemy. They found them five or six hundred strong, variously armed, drawn up on a plain in front of the village of Narkulbariah, and headed by Ghulam Masum on horseback. Bengalis are naturally a timid race. Mr. Alexander and his party did not anticipate any serious opposition, but were confident that the Wahhabis would disperse on the appearance of the military. Under this idea, the sepoy were made to load with blank cartridge, and Mr. Alexander, anxious to avoid bloodshed, advanced alone to remonstrate with the natives. But he could not obtain a hearing. They first attacked him and his party with showers of brickbats and other missiles, and then charged, Ghulam Masum on horseback leading them on with a drawn sword. The sepoy received them with a harmless volley, and were instantly surrounded and cut to pieces. The jemadar of the Calcutta militia, ten sepoy and three burkundazes were killed; the daroghah of Baseerhat, the jemadar of Kalinga Thanah and several burkundazes were severely wounded and taken prisoners by the insurgents, who carried them into their stockade, where the daroghah was murdered in cold blood. Mr. Alexander escaped with great difficulty. He ran for his life, pursued by the insurgents with drawn swords. At length he reached Badurreah, where he obtained a boat, and getting on board arrived at the Salt Agency of Jessore by sunset. We may easily imagine the consternation of Mr. Barber, the Resident, on hearing the details of the fight. He had sent Mr. Alexander off in the morning, confident that the sight of the sepoy would be sufficient to quell the tumult. It was now clear that the outbreak was more serious than had been thought, and that no time was to be lost. The treasure of the Agency was hastily put on board a boat and forwarded through the Sunderbuns to Calcutta under Mr. Alexander's charge.

Disaster followed disaster. On the 10th, the Magistrate of Nuddea was informed of the attack on Lowghata. On the 12th the police declared their inability to cope with the movement without assistance, and were reinforced by a daroghah and twenty burkundazes. No further information was received from the police, but on the 14th Mr. Storm's letter arrived, and the Magistrate immediately proceeded in person (with all the police he could collect) to put down the rioters. He reached Roderpur factory on the morning of the 16th, and was joined by Mr. Andrews, an indigo planter, and four assistants, with all the people they could gather together. No time was lost, and the whole party, about two or three hundred strong, proceeded down the Issamatti to attack the insurgents. They arrived at Badurreah factory about 5 P.M. on the 16th, and found that it had been plundered and destroyed that morning by the fanatics, in revenge for the information furnished by Mr. Piron to the Magistrate of Baraset.

Intelligence also arrived of the defeat of Mr. Alexander, but only the vaguest reports regarding the strength and intentions of the insurgents. The Magistrate was at first unwilling to advance further without reinforcements, but afterwards, deceived by the information of persons who purposely represented that the insurgents were neither so numerous nor so well-armed as to render the result doubtful, he determined on an attack. On the morning of the 17th, the Europeans mounted their elephants and led their followers in the direction of Narkulbariah, which was about 4 miles distant. One by one, the Bengalis dropped behind, and when the party arrived in the large plain in front of the village they found that, with the exception of twenty or thirty up-country burkundazes, every native had disappeared. Here they found the insurgents about a thousand strong, drawn up in regular order and led by Titu Mir, and deeming it unadvisable to attack them, they began to retrace their steps. As soon as they turned round, the insurgents followed them at full speed and overtaking them cut down the Nazir of the Criminal Court of Nuddea and two burkundazes who were unable to escape. The rest of the party with great difficulty succeeded in reaching the boats on the Issamatti. Pushing into the stream, they attempted to defend their position; they fired volley after volley on the rebels, but with very little effect. Only one man was killed, and one wounded. After the defeat of Mr. Alexander, the ignorant fanatics believed that they were under the special protection of God and safe from the bullets of their enemies. This belief became a certainty, when they saw the small loss caused by the party under the Magistrate of Nuddea. They, therefore, advanced without fear, and attempted to surround and board the boats of the Europeans. These, perceiving their danger, abandoned their boats.

on the opposite side of the river, ran towards their elephants which were about a mile off, and mounting them retreated to Mulnath, a large factory about 26 miles distant. An elephant, a pinnacle, several budgerows and other boats, fell into the hands of the insurgents, who, elated with their two victories over the local authorities, proceeded to commit further depredations. The Hooghly factory was attacked, and the manager and his family were taken prisoners. They were taken into the stockade at Narkulbariah, and ushered into the presence of Titu Mir and Miskin Shah, who demanded immediate and unconditional obedience to their authority. The manager wisely assented. He agreed to be a *zimmi*,* and promised to sow indigo for them as the rulers of India; and, satisfied with his submission, they released him and returned all his property. The civil authorities were completely paralysed, and the rebels taking advantage of their inactivity, determined on moving northwards towards Kishnaghur. They issued proclamations to the authorities and zemindars, calling on them to acknowledge their supremacy and supply them with provisions on their intended march. But they were destined to be rudely awakened from their dream of conquest.

Mr. Alexander arrived at Calcutta on the 16th of March, and gave a detailed account of his defeat. Government lost no time in preparing to meet the emergency. A detachment, consisting of the 10th Regiment of N. I., a troop of horse-artillery with two guns, and some troopers of the Body-guard, were directed to join Mr. Alexander at Baraset. This force moved on from Baraset on the evening of the 17th, and at about 11 A.M. the next day the troopers and artillery arrived before Narkulbariah. The infantry had not been able to keep up with the mounted troops, and the latter, after remaining all day before the village, returned at sunset and encamped with them. On the morning of the 19th the force marched out against the fanatics. They found them drawn out on the plain, with the mangled remains of a European who had been killed the previous day suspended in front of their line. The troops advanced firing on the insurgents, who received the attack boldly, and it was not until successive volleys had told on them severely that they broke up and retreated into the stockade, leaving sixty or seventy men killed and as many wounded. •The stockade was carried by storm.

Inside were found several prisoners taken by the rebels, and a large amount of property which had been obtained in marauding expeditions against the adjoining villages and indigo factories, and most of which was now plundered by the camp-followers. Titu

* That is, a person who, though not of the Musalmán faith, is subject to a Muhammadan Government.

Mir was killed in the action; his lieutenant, Ghulam Masum, and about 350 followers were taken prisoners. These were afterwards tried at Alipore. Ghulam Masum was sentenced to death, and about 140 of his followers were condemned to suffer various terms of imprisonment. A full report of the local causes of the insurrection was afterwards made by Mr. Colvin, and the Government contented themselves with remarking on it as follows :—

“It has been satisfactory to learn from Mr. Colvin’s report, that the insurrection was strictly local, arising from causes which had operation in a small extent of country, and that it never extended itself to any distance from the spot where it first broke out. It has also been satisfactory to learn that no person of wealth or consideration in the country joined the insurgents. But these very circumstances, however gratifying in themselves, must only add to the astonishment which the temerity and extravagance of the act naturally excites.”

With this expression of opinion Government disposed of the revolt. They looked on the fanatics as unreasonable beings unaccountable for their acts. Enquiry into their religious opinions or the motives which led them to commit such a series of crimes, was considered useless, as nothing certain could be asserted of such people. Even now, after the lapse of forty years, one cannot read the history of the insurrection without astonishment at the apathy displayed by Government. In 1822 Sayyid Ahmad had preached war against the non-Musalman rulers of India without any impediment, and in 1827 he commenced a *jihad* against the Sikhs. Liberal supplies of men and money were openly forwarded to him from Bengal. There was no attempt at concealment. Government must have been well aware of his conquests in the Punjab. Yet when his followers, trusting to their strength, rose in open rebellion within thirty miles of Calcutta, the disturbance was considered inexplicable, and the rebels were treated as men devoid of intelligence and incapable of any design!

When the news of the death of Sayyid Ahmad reached Patna, Maulavis Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali were on tour, preaching to the people of the Deccan and Lower Bengal. They quickly returned, and a consultation was held as to the course to be pursued. The death of Sayyid Ahmad was a serious misfortune. Looking at him simply as a leader, his loss was immense. He was versed in war, and his experience under Amír Khan had rendered him conversant with the marshalling of troops. There was no leader to fill his position. Maulavi Isma’il had fallen with him in the action at Balakot, and Maulavi Abd-ul Hai had died some time previous at Delhi. But in order to gain a true estimate of the effect of

Sayyid Ahmad's death, as it appeared to the Patna Maulavis, it is important to consider the state of affairs at the time of his decease. His followers had from an early period been divided into two opposing factions, and his life was a continuous struggle to keep them together. His position as an acknowledged Imam and his great powers of persuasion had enabled him to do so ; but there were signs that it required very little to cause an open rupture between them. On the one hand there was a large body of his followers, headed by Abd-ul Hai and Karamat Ali of Jaunpur, who conformed to Sunni customs. Opposed to them were the disciples of Isma'il, who repudiated the propriety of following any of the four Imams, Abu Hanifa, Abu Shafi'i, Malik, or Ibn Hanbal, and carried the right of private interpretation to its utmost limits. Sayyid Ahmad held a middle course. He performed all religious ceremonies and observances according to the rules of the Hanfi sect, but he tacitly supported the followers of Isma'il by creating a new sect of *faqirs*, to follow what he called the *Muhammadi Tariqa* or "way of Muhammad." This idea of a *Muhammadi Tariqa* was not original. All Musalmans are said to belong to the *Muhammadi din* or Muhammadan faith, and when Abd-ul Wahhab commenced to preach in Arabia, he repudiated all existing sects and declared himself to be a *Muhammadi*, or "Muhammadan," and that only. Sayyid Ahmad adopted Abd-ul Wahhab's doctrine in a modified form. Ignorant of Muhammadan law, he feared to arrogate to himself the position of a doctor of divinity and introduce a new sect. But no such extensive knowledge was necessary to a *faqir*. The great bodies of *faqirs* had always been named after some characteristic of their founders, as the *Qadiriya* from the name of their founder Abd-ul Qadir. Sayyid Ahmad claimed to walk in the footsteps of Muhammad, and hence he created a new branch called the *Muhammadi Tariqa*, to carry out the customs of the faithful as they existed in the time of Muhammad. Under such circumstances his death was destruction to the movement. Worse still, Hanfi jurists had declared that a *jihad* could only be carried on by an Imam, and if Sayyid Ahmad was really dead, the *jihad* must cease. All these matters must have crossed the minds of the Patna Maulavis, who were ardent followers of Sayyid Ahmad's doctrines. Long before his appearance as a teacher, they had become the disciples of one Abd-ul Haq, a bigoted Wahhabi of Benares. This man was originally called Ghulam Rasul ; but on embracing the Wahhabi doctrines, he abandoned this irreligious name and assumed that of Abd-ul Haq. He afterwards went to Mecca, where his heterodox views were brought to the notice of the Turkish authorities. An order was issued for his arrest ; but he succeeded in evading it and escaped to Nejd, the Wahhabi province of Arabia. After some years' residence in Nejd, he returned to Benares, where he was well known.

as the Nejdî Shaikh, and began to enrol disciples. Maulavi Wilayat Ali was one of his first converts.

Moreover, Sayyid Ahmad had studiously avoided minor differences. His religious teachings may be summed up in dependence on God, and the belief that he himself was the Imam Mahdi, the leader of the 13th century of the Muhammadan era. Among the Caliphs who had preached this doctrine, Wilayat Ali was the most conspicuous. He had not only taught it publicly, but had written a book in support of it; and if Sayyid Ahmad was dead, he stood before the world as an impostor. From the first he discredited the news of Sayyid Ahmad's death. He called to mind certain sayings of his spiritual chief, which forbade him to believe such reports. Sayyid Ahmad had foretold that he would gain many victories, and that as often as the Kâfir was defeated, so often would he circulate false reports of his death to dispirit his followers and check their enthusiasm. Such had now happened. Only a short time previous, Sayyid Ahmad was the ruler of Peshawar; now he was reported dead and his followers dispersed. It was incredible, unworthy of belief. All doubt in the matter, however, was set aside in a few days by intelligence from the North-West, which confirmed the Maulavis in the justness of their first impressions.

At the time Sayyid Ahmad was defeated at Balakot, a portion of his army under Maulavi Qasim * was absent on an expedition against Mozafferabad. The death of Sayyid Ahmad put an end to the expedition. Maulavi Qasim returned, and gathering together those soldiers who had escaped from the fight, marched to Sittana, taking with him the family of Sayyid Ahmad. This village belonged to Sayyid Akbar, an intimate friend of Sayyid Ahmad. A council of the Maulavis was held, and it was determined that the crescentaders should for the present remain at Takhtaband in Bonair, a village in which the family of Sayyid Akbar was very powerful. Inquiries were then made as to the manner in which Sayyid Ahmad had met his death. Some crescentaders declared that they had seen him dead; others as firmly declared that he had not died. They affirmed that in the midst of the battle a cloud of dust had encircled the Imam, that he was never afterwards seen alive, neither could his body be found. Maulavi Qasim belonged to the latter party. He forthwith despatched letters to the different Caliphs in India, in which he gave an account of the disaster of Balakot, and the present distress of the

* Maulavi Qasim was a native of Paniput near Delhi, and a Caliph of Sayyid Ahmad. After the death of his master, he resided chiefly in the hills, and supported the crescentade. He was arrested by the English, and died in prison about 1851 or 1852. Zain-ul-Abdin refers to him in the letter further on as Qasim Kazzâb, or Qasim the liar.

crescentaders in consequence of the disappearance of their chief, and demanded assistance in men and money. The Patna Maulavis were now firmly convinced of the existence of Sayyid Ahmad. They fancied that he had foretold his disappearance in his lifetime, and accordingly they now preached in favour of *jihad* with redoubled zeal.* They said that the Lord, displeased with the faint-hearted Musalmans of India, had withdrawn the Imam from the eyes of men and concealed him in a cave in the mountain, but that when his followers had assembled and proved the sincerity of their faith by uniting to carry on a *jihad*, he would re-appear and lead them on to victory as before. These statements fell upon willing ears, and the movement which seemed to have been crushed at Balakot, sprang up with renewed vigour.

For ever doomed to death, though fated not to die,

To a European it will probably appear incredible that a mere assertion like this should be believed and made the motive for a *jihad*. He would naturally suppose that only on the strongest conceivable evidence would any one so much as listen to an account so absurd and improbable. And it would of course be impossible to induce a Western mind of ordinary intelligence to give credence to such an hallucination. No amount of proof could do it. But there was nothing incredible in it to a Musalman. It was consonant with every religious tradition of his sect, and at first hearing appeared more probable than otherwise. He was ready to believe it on the smallest tittle of evidence. Such things had happened before. It was well known that the prophet Yunis† had disappeared for a time, and lay concealed in the belly of a large fish; Moses, too, became invisible when he ascended Mount Sinai to receive the Old Testament; Zulkarnain,‡ the great leader who imprisoned Gog and Magog, and prevented them from devastating the world, disappeared under somewhat similar circumstances. The Lord had withdrawn them for a time in order to punish their irreligious followers, and allowed them to re-appear when their followers repented and became firm in their faith. The Prophet Christ had not tasted of death. He

* Wilayat Ali preached that he had heard Sayyid Ahmad foretell his disappearance. The truth of this statement has been denied by Karamat Ali of Jaunpur, who gives as its origin the following story. A follower of Sayyid Ahmad said to him, that he hoped the Lord would allow him to perform miracles after his death, as he had performed them in his lifetime; and Sayyid Ahmad in answer prayed that his grave might be concealed from his followers to avoid any possibility of it being made an object of worship.

† Yunis is the Jonah of the Bible.

‡ Zulkarnain. That is, the two-horned, or he who appeared in two eras. Many commentators on the *Quran* suppose the person to be Alexander the Great; others believe that he was a prince and a prophet contemporary with Abraham. See Sale's *Quran*, pp. 246-247.

was alive in heaven, and would descend to do battle with anti-Christ. The backslidings of the Musalmans of India were manifest, and there was therefore nothing unreasonable in the supposition that the Middle Imam had disappeared in like manner.

The continued absence of Sayyid Ahmad rendered it necessary to elect a leader to carry on the *jihad*. The selection was entrusted to his Caliphs in India. They assembled in large numbers at Delhi, and appointed Maulavi Nasir-uddin. It was also determined that he should march through Tonk and Sind* to join the people at Takhtaband in Bonair.

Nasir-uddin left Delhi with a few followers. At Tonk he was joined by numerous recruits, and received valuable donations of money and arms; thence he moved on to Shikarpur in Sind, where he determined to remain until he could master a sufficient force to meet the Sikhs. About 1833 he was joined by Sayyid Ahmad's family, and the remnant of his army which had fled to Takhtabund. The crescentaders remained with the main army in Sind, but Sayyid Ahmad's family returned to Tonk. The Amirs of Sind were the most bigoted Muhammadans in India. They were hostile to every non-Musalman dynasty. They treated our envoys with contumely and subjected them to insults. They saw with fear the increasing power of the Sikhs, and they and the Wahhabis had a common enemy in Ranjit Singh. It was well known that Ranjit Singh only waited for a favourable moment to invade Sind, and the Amirs probably induced the Wahhabi leaders to aid them in protecting their territory. Whatever may have been the reason, Nasir-uddin remained at Shikarpur, and abandoned the idea of carrying on a *jihad* from the hills. By degrees his followers increased. Recruits poured in from Hindustan and Bengal, and liberal supplies of money were forwarded, yet he remained inactive for many years, and with the exception of an unimportant attack on Hazara, never did battle with the Sikhs. But stirring times were coming. When Lord Auckland determined on forcing Shah Shujah on the people of Kabul, Dost Muhammad proclaimed a religious war against the English, and invited the Wahhabis to join in the *jihad*. Nasir-uddin was inclined to aid Dost Muhammad, but many of the Maulavis dissented and returned home with their followers. About a thousand men remained with Nasir-uddin. He marched towards Kabul, and encamping near Dadur pushed forward 300 picked men to support the Amir. They were deputed to assist in the defence of Ghazni, and were totally destroyed when the citadel was assaulted and captured by

* Tonk and Sind were Musalman States, and swarmed with the followers of Sayyid Ahmad. The Nawab of Tonk and several of the Amirs of Sind are said to have been his disciples.

the English troops. The capture of Kabul quickly followed, and the dispirited Wahhabis dispersed and returned to their homes in Hindustan and Bengal.

After the Wahhabis broke up in Sind, Maulavi Qasim returned to the hills and preached as a Caliph of Sayyid Ahmad. He principally resided at Kawai in Kagan ; and Zamin Shah and Naubat Shah, the chiefs of Kagan, became his disciples. Some time after the Wahhabis had returned to their homes from Kabul, he sent intelligence to the leaders, that the Imam had re-appeared and declared his intention of joining his disciples to carry on a *jihad* against the Sikhs. Letters purporting to be sent by Sayyid Ahmad were forwarded to the several Caliphs, calling on them to join their spiritual chief with their followers. The Patna Maulavis responded to the invitation, and again *kafilas* of men poured into the hills from British India. Inayat Ali quickly followed and assumed the position of leader, and under his guidance the fanatics attacked the Sikhs and drove them out of Balakot.

The village of Kahán, which is near Balakot, was then under the rule of Najíf Khan, a friend of the Wahhabis, who was deprived of his possessions by the Sikhs and sought assistance from Inayat Ali. Among the Maulavis who joined Inayat Ali was Maulavi Zain-ul-Abdin of Hyderabad. He had met Wilayat Ali when he first visited the Deccan, and, won over by his preaching, became an ardent fanatic. A man of strong will and impulsive temperament, he entered into the movement with all his energy. Wilayat Ali, perceiving his zeal, sent him to preach in the eastern districts of Bengal, and the number of his followers in Sylhet and Dacca testify to his success as a missionary. On receiving the order to join the Imam in the hills, he immediately set out, followed by upwards of a thousand disciples, who marched in small parties to escape observation. Soon after his arrival, he was despatched with a body of crescentaders to assist Najíf Khan against the Sikhs. He was defeated, and returning to Balakot, gave up the command, and retired from any active part in the campaign.

Up to this time the Imam had not appeared to take command of the army. He was said to live in a cave in a certain mountain near Kawai, but this mountain was strictly guarded, and none of the crescentaders were allowed to approach it. Zain-ul-Abdin determined to have an interview with his master. With a few determined followers, he secretly visited the mountain, and disregarding all opposition, entered the cave in which his master was said to reside. In it he found only three figures stuffed with straw, to represent Sayyid Ahmad and his two servants.

The pious enthusiast was shocked. He quickly fled from the accursed spot, and forbade his followers under the pain of being

kufirs to carry on a *jihād* with such idolaters as Maulavi Qasim and Maulavi Qadir.* The following letter which was written by him to a friend in Calcutta at the time, gives an account of the manner in which people were deceived into believing the existence of Sayyid Ahmad.

“*Salam 'alaikum*—The peace and the blessing of God be upon you! Your petitioner states that this suppliant, through the ministry of Wilayat Ali, looked on innovation in matters of faith and religion as unmixed evil, and believed its rejection to be a religious command. Under this idea and relying on the wisdom and sincerity of Pir Maulavi Wilayat Ali, I believed a thing beyond the domain of reason, and departed for the well-known place. When I arrived, I found nothing worthy of the *Imam Humam*; on the contrary, Karīm Ali who has fallen a victim to the deceit of Qasim Kazzāb, came to our camp from Mullā Qādir, and said that the *Amīr-ul-muminīn* had declared Shaikh Wali Muhammad to be such a reprobate, that even if Ranjīt Singh were to rise from his grave and repent, there would be greater hope of his repentance being accepted than that of Shaikh Wali Muhammad, and several things of the same nature. He also said that the *Amīr-ul-muminīn* declared that in these times it was exceedingly difficult to be a Musalman; that the Lord had created one Musalman—Qasim; and that Zain-ul-Abdin was a worthy man, for he entrusted all his property to Qasim; that His Highness was displeased with Inayat Ali because he did not entrust his property to Qasim; and many other things of the same kind which I cannot detail. Hearing this, I was astonished and said to Qasim, ‘On whomsoever the inspiration of Islam descends, his utterances are difficult to comprehend. I am astonished.’ Qasim answered, ‘His Highness is now absorbed in the Deity.’ Zāmir-uddīn had caused a seal to be cut in the name of the Imam at his own expense, and he had brought it from Hindustan. One day Karamat Ali came from Mullā Qādir with a message that the Imam Humam had sent for the seal bearing his name. Qasim sent the seal by the hands of Karamat Ali. Some days after, Karamat Ali brought back the seal, and said that the Imam had directed letters sealed with that seal to be sent to various places. Then this suppliant said:—‘Up to the present time, persons doubt whether the Imam is alive; it therefore appears unwise to send letters sealed with this seal: nothing can be gained by doing so; on the contrary it may do harm.’ Two days after, Qasim returned and said, ‘The Imam is displeased, and says, What! is Zain-ul-Abdīn teaching me wisdom?’

* *Mulla Qadir*. A Native of Kāgan in the hills, and a Caliph of Sayyid Ahmad.

" Mullá Qádir says that two companions of the prophet, named " Ibn Abbas and Ibn Khuzma, disappeared at the battle of Badr or " Obod, and are concealed in the earth, where they have been " engaged in the work of the Lord; and now when the time " of the appearance of the Imam is drawing nigh, these two " disciples have left their retreat and sat down upon the " mountain at the feet of the Imam Humam. He also said " that the king of the *jins* from greater China had been sent " for, in order that the Imam Humam and all the prophets " should sit on his throne and be carried hère and there through " the air, as happened to king Solomon. Mulla Qádir said be- " fore the I'd-uz-zahá that the Prophet and all the saints were " sitting with the Imam and were saying to him, 'Arise, the " *kafr* army has advanced to Balakot; and that the Imam " answered, 'I will not arise until commanded by God'; that at " last the Prophet ordered him to arise, and he refused, saying, " 'Such power is not given to your slave.'

" Mulla Qádir made an image of Sayyid Ahmad, but before show- " ing it to any person, he made the people promise that they would " never attempt to shake hands with the Imam or speak to him, for if " they did, then the Imam would disappear for fourteen years. The " whole people, deeply affected, viewed this lifeless image from some " distance, and salaamed to it. No answer came, and the people " became desirous of shaking hands with the Imam. Some days " passed, and the people began to suspect foul play and insisted on " shaking hands with the Imam; but Mulla Qádir endeavoured to " allay their suspicions, and said that if any person should attempt to " shake hands with the Imam, without giving previous notice, Miyán " Abdulla Sahib* would pistol him. Afterwards Mulla Qádir saw " that I would not be frightened, and that the people would not aban- " don the desire of shaking hands with the Imam, and knowing that " if this happened, the real state of affairs would become known, he " began to say that the Imam Humam had commanded as follows :— " 'The people have not been satisfied with seeing me; but wish " to shake hands with me and speak to me. They have not thank- " fully accepted the favours granted to them. Hence the just God " is displeased with them, and I shall not appear again until " I join the army as a leader.' After this the image was not seen. " A few days after, Mulla Turab and some other respectable people " of Kandahar and Kabul arrived, and exposed the cheat. After a " great deal of entreaty, they prevailed on Mulla Qádir to allow them " to see the image. They examined it and found that it was a goat " skin stuffed with grass, which with the help of some pieces of wood, " hair, &c., was made to resemble a man. This suppliant enquired

* *Miyán Abdulláh*. A servant of Sayyid Ahmad, who is said to have disappeared with his master.

" from Qasim Kazzáb about this ; he answered that it was true ; but
 " that the Imam Humam had performed a miracle, and appeared as
 " a stuffed figure to those people.' After this Mulla Qádir began to
 " say, 'His Highness is displeased with me, and has given over visiting
 " my house ; but Miyán Chisti Sahib* comes now and then.'
 " Maulavi Khuda Bakhsh seized a young cowherd, beat him,
 " and took his shoes to Furruckabad.† This is only a small
 " portion of the acts, idolatry, and heresy of these people. When I
 " first saw the image, I wrote a true account of it to you ; now the
 " errors and falsity of these people are as clear as noon-day, and
 " (abandoning them) I have saved my soul from sin. I send
 " salaams to Badí-uz-Zamán and Maulavi Rajab Ali."

Zain-ul-Abdin returned to Calcutta and ceased to be a Wahhabi. His followers imitated his example, and a third time it appeared as if the Wahhabi movement would fall to pieces ; but the perseverance of the Patna Maulavis overcame all obstacles, and in a short time rendered the sect as powerful in the North-West as it was in the days of Sayyid Ahmad.

* *Miyán Chisti*. A servant of Sayyid Ahmad, who is said to have disappeared along with his master at the battle of Balakot. •

† When the report of Sayyid Ahmad's reappearance reached Hindustan, the people of Furruckabad despatched a letter to him by a trusty messenger, who was directed to bring back some token that he had really gone to the hills. On his way back he stole a cow-herd's shoes, to produce as a proof that he was in the hills.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Turkistan in the year 1866. Way-side notes, with illustrations in chromo-lithography and on wood. By M. Pashino. St. Petersburg. 1868.

UNDER this promising title we have a narrative of travel in the newly-acquired Russian territories in Central Asia, during the year 1866, from the pen of a Russian author, M. Pashino. The work appears to us to deserve the notice of those interested in Central-Asian affairs, and is decidedly amusing. Adventure there is none, but the author has an easy gossiping style, which will commend itself to those who desire to acquaint themselves with the views of Russian writers in the original, without relying upon the tardy, and not always strictly accurate, rendering of French and German translations, but whose knowledge of the language may not be sufficiently perfect to enable them to cope satisfactorily with more difficult works. Moreover, the information contained in these pages is very varied and interesting, and if much of it has been anticipated in the writings of Arminius Vambéry, it nevertheless conveys the impression of being the result of personal observation and enquiry. Of the tinted views we cannot say much; many of the wood engravings, illustrative of scenes by the way, are however executed with great vigour and freedom of touch.

M. Pashino started from Orenburg late in February 1866 in a post-telega, his previous experiences of travel in Persia having taught him to regard any mode of conveyance as preferable to camel-riding. Travelling, *vid* Orsk and Ouralsk, he reached Fort No. 1 on the banks of the Syr Daria at the expiration of a fortnight. This portion of the journey is dismissed in a few pages. Subsequently, he proceeded along the right, or Russian, bank of the river to Tashkend. The total distance between Orenburg and Tashkend is given as 1,919 versts, or about 1,400 English miles; and is divided into 76 post-stages, varying in length from 14 to 40 versts each. The principal points upon the latter portion of the route, *i.e.*, Forts Nos. 1 and 2, Fort Peroffsk, Djouleck, Hazreti-Turkistanā, Tchekmend and Tashkend, are described at considerable length; and some valuable chapters are added upon the natural resources, the manufacturing trade prospects, and the social condition of Russian Turkistan. We can only find space for the sketch of Tashkend. After a wearisome drive of some seventy versts, in the forenoon of a sultry April day, the sun scorching as in St. Petersburg in the month of July, M. Pashino found himself

descending a long hill in the direction of what appeared to be an interminable succession of orchards and fruit-gardens, but which in reality was "the key of Central Asia." Profound stillness prevailed around; not a sound was audible save the clatter of the horses' feet, the note of the nightingale swelling forth from some shady covert, and the occasional ringing of a woodman's axe. Progressing onwards, a few mud huts became visible in the midst of the trees. A few natives, Sarts, made their appearance to scrutinize the new arrival; some troops of bare-footed urchins came trooping forth to follow the travellers with noisy shouts, after the manner of their kind in more frequented regions. Then a tea-khun with a crowd of natives seated before it—more gardens—then a bazar with a mosque and caravanserai adjoining it. Crowds of Sart dealers, haggling and chaffering after the manner of the East, and knots of Russian soldiers, some not very sober, fraternizing with the natives—all clad in the uniform worn in this country, a short blouse or gabardine of white linen, fitting tight to the waist, loose red pantaloons tucked into long boots, and jaunty-looking red *kepis*, a species of head dress, which, we should say, judging from one of the illustrations, was singularly ill-adapted to the requirements of an almost tropical climate. But sanitary science has not made much progress in the Russian army.

Orchards again, well watered, with a few scattered habitations—a *medresse* or Muhammadan College, with a fine garden, a favourite suburban resort in summer evenings—more orchards, a small bazar. Here and there an awkward looking tenement of unburned brick, window-less and flat-roofed, jutting out angularly into the thoroughfare—a few natives, old and young, sitting at the doors of their dwellings. Then, once more, the traffic appears to increase—the stalls by the way side become more numerous—groups of soldiers lounging about listlessly become more frequent, all indicating the vicinity of the military quarter. We give a description of the approach thereto in the author's own words:—

'The citadel is separated from the town by a ditch, along the edge of which were ranged stalls of merchandize, and loads of cloves and barley for sale. Martial-looking Cossacks were here, bargaining with Sart dealers for forage. Camels were lying about waiting for their loads, glancing round patiently with their meek lustrous eyes. On the right was a sound as of running water, on the left more stalls, interspersed with numerous bath-houses. The predominance of the Russian element in the population was very marked; about one-third of those present were Sart traders, and the remaining two-thirds Russian soldiers—Linesmen, artillery and Cossacks. They did not appear to buy, but wandered about the place and lounged in the tea-houses, gossiping with the dealers in *pell-messy* (a Tartar mess of stewed-beef) and pies.
* * * * * On a barbette within the citadel stood a sentry looking down on the busy throng below.'

After this and other glimpses of military life which we obtain in the course of M. Pashino's narrative, we are not surprised to learn, although the circumstance is not alluded to in any Russian military work with which we have met, that—

“Salutary as the climate of Turkistan is in respect of the native population, it is reputed to be very unfavourable to the Russian troops; typhus, intermittent fevers, ague and scurvy, were very prevalent amongst them in 1866, and sunstrokes of frequent occurrence.”

The climate of the country between Hazreti-Turkistana and Tashkend offers little variety. It is extremely hot in summer, the thermometer sometimes standing at 35° Reaumur (198° Fah.). The heat of summer and the intensity of the cold in winter are increased by the prevalence of southerly and westerly winds blowing across the desert. The north and east winds which come direct from the highlands, are more genial in their effect. The slopes facing towards the south and west are consequently more barren than those having a northern or eastern aspect. The summers are far hotter in Turkistana than at Tchemkend and Tashkend, as the former stands unsheltered, upon an open plain, whilst the latter are situated upon more elevated sites in the neighbourhood of the hill country, and are moreover shaded by numerous orchards and plantations. Little rain falls in summer. The wet months are October and March. In the winter the snow lies on the ground for about a month in the low lands, and for a space of two or three months in the higher districts. The endemic diseases which prevail in the neighbouring countries, such as the leprosy of Afghanistan and Southern Bokhara, goitre and other similar affections, are unknown. The only real ailments amongst the native population (excepting an occasional visitation of Asiatic cholera) are attributable to want of cleanliness in their persons, to the bites of scorpions and other venomous insects, and to the imprudent use of unripe or over-ripe fruit. But although this, the most favoured region of the new Russian territories, cannot be described as “a howling waste, in which ignorance and poverty reign supreme”—a definition but too truthfully applicable to many parts of Central Asia—it is by no means a land “distilling fatness,” such as it has appeared to the fervid imaginations of certain writers.

The soil at the best, M. Pashino tells us, is not particularly rich, and the climate is a dry, exhausting one, which offers many impediments to the labours of the husbandman. Hence the inhabitants are compelled to have recourse to a careful system of irrigation. Where irrigation is not practised, there is but little, if any, vegetation. The system has been applied with great skill from time immemorial, the fact being that the maintenance of the practice has proved a useful source of revenue to the exchequers

of the reigning khans. Wheat, barley, rice and other cereals are grown with success. Oats are not cultivated, but M. Pashino is disposed to think that this crop would answer exceptionally well. Cotton, at the period of his visit, was only grown in the neighbourhood of Tchemkend and Tashkend, although the whole of the plain country on the banks of the Syr Daria appeared to him to be well adapted to this branch of culture. Apropos of this subject, we may here remark that we learn from independent sources that a Commissioner appointed by the Russian Government, was engaged last summer in investigating the possibility of reclaiming the steppe country by means of irrigating canals from the Syr Daria, but that these labours are as yet incomplete.

M. Pashino considers the cotton of Turkistan inferior to that of Persia and Bokhara. This is due, he says, in part to the fact that the demand for it is small—the Kirghis obtaining their supplies from the Russian markets, and in part to the negligent manner in which the cleaning process is performed. The natives are not very discriminative in the choice of localities for planting this crop, but in general a preference is shown for situations open to the hill breezes. He adds :—

“Seeds of American Sea-island cotton have been tried, but did not yield. This, in my opinion, was due not so much to the fault of the seed (although it was brought by the winter-route, and was long upon the road), as to the fact that the island cottons are difficult to rear upon continents. Might it not be more advantageous to try some of the African varieties?”

The mulberry tree thrives well, but the rearing of silk-worms is not systematically practised, as in Khokand.

Fruit and vegetables (potatoes excepted) are grown in abundance, but, judged by a European standard, they are for the most part of coarse and inferior sorts. The most remunerative garden-crops are grapes, peaches, and melons, all of which are exported to Russia, the two former in a dried state—the art of preserving fruits being upknown here.

The Russian Government, M. Pashino says, has, it would seem, anticipated great results from a development of the subterranean resources of the new territory, and it is to be hoped that its expectations may not be disappointed.

He glances briefly at the reports of the various explorations made up to the date of the compilation of his book, *viz.* October 1868, by the Officers of the Topographical Engineers, and by private individuals in Turkistan—amongst others by a wealthy Sart gentleman resident in Tashkend, Said Azim. From these it would appear that in a few instances indications have been met with of the existence of mineral wealth, gold, steam-coal, lead, copper, &c., but that the difficulties in the way of “prospecting” are very for-

midable, and that, as in the case of some beds of steam-coal which have been discovered, the circumstances of the localities, and the depth of the deposits below the surface, render the working very problematical.

In stock-keeping, sheep hold the foremost place. Mutton and rice form the chief diet of the native population, and the skins and wool are also of value, the latter being exported to Russia for felt-making purposes. Horse and camel breeding are profitable, but demand a larger capital—especially the former. The handsome returns which can be obtained, have induced certain Sart traders to turn their attention to this pursuit, much to their own advantage. At the time of M. Pashino's visit, horses were fetching in Tashkend from 10 to 50 roubles (Rs. 15 to 75) and one particular breed of bay as much as 100 roubles. Camels were worth 40 to 150 roubles; a very poor one could be purchased for 10 roubles.

M. Pashino appears to think that the resources of the country might best be developed by the establishment of military colonies along the Syr Daria, due regard being had to the antecedents of the soldiers selected as settlers, so as to secure experienced agriculturists and fishermen.

Of the fixed portion of the native population of Russian Turkistan—the Sarts—M. Pashino has much to tell us. The reports respecting these people have hitherto been rather discordant. In Prince Gortschakoff's Circular to the European Courts, touching the Russian movements in Central Asia, we find them characterized as "a race of people, more solid, more compact, less changeable and better organized" than any others with whom the Russians had come in contact in these parts. Vambéry, on the other hand, speaking from his experience of the race in Khokand and Bokhara,* describes them as "having attained the very highest stage of vice and profligacy:" he adds, "if they are to be taken as a specimen of antique Asia, the cradle of our race, it must indeed have presented in those early ages a sorry appearance." M. Pashino's report is more favourable. He found them "good-humoured, plausible in speech, enterprising in business." From his account it would seem that if Vambéry's position "that the number of scholastic institutions is in Central Asia a criterion of the prosperity and religious instruction of a population"† be accepted, their moral *status* must be elevated in comparison with that of many of their neighbours.

In Tashkend, M. Pashino tells us, with a settled native population of about 50,000 souls, there are 300 national schools, that is to say 300 mosques, the clergy of which are required to

* *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 368.

† *Do.*, p. 332.

impart secular as well as religious instruction to their flocks. Every father of a family is bound to send his boys to school; the attendance commencing at the age of 10 years. The daughters are sent in like manner to the wives of the Imâm by whom they are instructed in reading and writing. The Tashkendians sedulously observe the obligations which the Musalman religion inculcates in regard of the founding and maintenance of schools. Moreover the expenses so incurred are by no means heavy—no allowance has to be made for the pay of a teacher, the parents making small presents to the Imâm who thus officiates, in accordance with their means, from time to time. There are also numerous *medresses* or higher schools. Some of the Muhammadan clergy stand in no very high repute, but others are unquestionably men of learning and of sterling moral worth.

It must be observed that M. Pashino draws a distinction between the terms "Sart" and "Tadjik," which are used by Vambéry as synonymous. The Sarts of Turkistan would be much offended, he says, to be called Tadjiks. Both races are of primitive Persian extraction, but the latter are regarded as of servile descent, and of a distinct and inferior race.

M. Pashino was deputed by the Governor-General of Orenburg to institute enquiries into the origin of this people, and with his remarks upon this head we must bring our notice of his work to a close:—

"The Sart physiognomy and character at once attest their Aryan origin. But individuals are frequently met with in Turkistan who call themselves Sarts, but who nevertheless betray undoubted tokens of Mongolian blood. This, however, by no means controverts the foregoing assertion, as the peculiarity has doubtless arisen, as in many of the Persian colonies hereabouts, from intermarriages. When and how these Aryan colonists first settled in this country, must, in the absence of documentary evidence, remain an open question, but I venture to think that the population now known to us as Sarts, are the descendants of Persian emigrants, who, as teachers, artisans, liberated slaves, or prisoners of war, settled here about the era of the conquests of Genghiz Khan. This hypothesis is somewhat confirmed by the fact that many of them retain a knowledge of Persian, which in the Khanate of Khokand, where the mass of the population speak Turkish, is regarded as the Court dialect."

The manuscripts in the libraries of the Medresses appear to throw no light upon the obscure points of Sart history. A full account of these documents may be found in a recently published work by a Russian writer, M. Khanikoff, entitled "*A description of the Khanate of Bokhara.*"

The Principles and Practical Success of the Competition System : An Argument for its Extension. By Charles McMinn, B.A., C.S. 1870.

AT a time when the success of the competition system has been practically acknowledged in England by the late decision of Government adopting it as the test for all public employment except in the War Office, Mr. McMinn comes forward to prove its success in India and to urge its extension here. The first part of his task, though ably performed, was perhaps uncalled for ; the success of the system, so far as the Covenanted Civil Service is concerned, is undisputed. Mr. McMinn speaks of "vindicating the reputation which is so dear to us and the rights now so rudely assailed," but is he not setting up a figure in buckram for the mere pleasure of knocking it down? It is time that the competition men overcame this feeling of morbid sensibility ; they have been on their trial now for fifteen years, and they have shown that they can hold their own. Is it not also expected that they should hold their peace?

There is one chapter, however, which in common fairness we cannot leave unnoticed. We believe it is only too common to regard the later competitors as inferior to the men who came out in the first years of the new régime. Mr. McMinn asserts, on the contrary, that the men who have been selected since 1862 (and he is not one of them) are abler men than their predecessors ; and he proves his position, to his own satisfaction at least, by four series of statistics. The same examiners, he says, give higher marks to younger men ; the University men who now appear in the Civil Service list have far more generally taken collegiate honours than in former years ; Oxford first-class men at moderations take a lower average place now than formerly ; and the same may be said of Dublin ; while the number of competitors has vastly increased and the area of supply has been enlarged. We have not the reports by us at present, whereby to test Mr. McMinn's figures, but it seems to us that there is an obvious fallacy running throughout the argument, in the quiet assumption that all the men who pass the examination in England come out to India. This is not the case. Mr. McMinn himself informs us that "the number of retirements (between the examination and the time of departure for India) now averages seven annually ;" but this circumstance does not appear to have been taken into consideration in the comparison which he draws between the older and the later competitors. If we may presume that these seven who retire now-a-days are among the highest in the list, it is clear that the comparison should be not between the tenth man on the list for each period, but between the tenth man in the former years and the seventeenth now ! The fact

is, the first competitioners were Honour men before they competed for the Civil Service at all, and only those competed who thought it worth their while to come to India. Now, men pass the examination at a much earlier age, and having secured a place in the Civil Service as a *dernier ressort*, betake themselves to read for University Honours, and, if sufficiently successful, throw over the Civil Service. Of course they must be very clever fellows to be able to do this, but that is not the point. They don't come to India.

Although the proofs of Mr. McMinn's pamphlet have been so carelessly corrected that we fail to understand much that we read, and although we do not agree with all that we understand, we admit that there are several points in it well worthy of attention. The description of the Civilian Judge is, we hope, a caricature, but no doubt there is sufficient truth underlying it to call for reform—a reform which can only be effectually carried out by a separation of the executive and judicial branches of the service. The injustice done to the junior members of the service by the present system of promotion in the non-regulation provinces—in the face, too, as Mr. McMinn asserts, of positive orders to the contrary—is a matter which they would do well to take up, both in the interests of the country and in their own. The Non-Regulation Commission is now as well paid as the “regular line” of the Civil Service, and of late years promotion in it has been much more rapid. We have no wish to depreciate our military civilians, many of whom have earned for themselves names that will be handed down to posterity. But after all, one is often tempted to ask what qualifications they possess for the functions which they are called upon to exercise, or what singular merit led to their being taken away from their drill and pitch-forked on the bench. Mr. McMinn says “perhaps sixty per cent have been made civil judges or administrators, because they were married or going to be married, or because they had debts and duns and children.” The fact is, the Non-Regulation Commission is simply a close preserve for patronage, and such it will remain until the force of public opinion shall succeed in throwing it open. We maintain that members of the Civil Service have a prior claim upon these appointments, and, in the present dissatisfied state of the Service and the entire absence of promotion in the lower grades, the Government would do well to recognize that claim. The absurdity and injustice of the present system is sufficiently exemplified by the fact that a man may fail to pass for the Civil Service, and yet his more successful competitors may still find him always ahead of them in civil employ out here, simply because he happens to be some Secretary's cousin.

We regret that Mr. McMinn has not treated at greater length of the principles of the competition system as applied

to the natives of India. For, after all, when he argues in favour of its extension, his arguments must mainly have reference to them. Mr. McMinn has discussed the question as affecting a body of Englishmen sent out to govern a vast foreign dependency. He lays down that the faculties mostly required by such a body are imagination, reason, memory, force of will and conscience. The two last, he admits, are but imperfectly tested in a literary examination; but are not these the qualities which in the case of a native are more important than all the rest combined? We are ourselves far from thinking that the time has come when promotion among the natives should be regulated exclusively by literary tests, though the introduction of the system to a limited extent might doubtless be attended with advantage. In our opinion there are other qualities indispensable in a native candidate for the public service, in comparison with which scholastic proficiency should weigh but as a feather in the balance. Is it because he is of the same opinion, that Mr. McMinn is silent on this branch of his subject?

No Actress. A Stage Door-Keeper's Story. By John Daly Besemerer. London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange. 1870.

IT is not often that an Anglo-Indian story is found worthy of being reproduced in England; and it is therefore with peculiar pleasure that we welcome the pretty little volume which is now before us. Mr. Besemerer's *No Actress* is a story of more than ordinary merit, and coming to remind us as it does of an old friend whom we have already learned to esteem, we have a special gratification in introducing it to the notice of our readers. That the author is a writer of great power, vivid imagination, rich humour, and exquisite pathos, need not be told to those who knew Mr. Besemerer in this country, or who appreciated the keen and stinging satire which ran through the early numbers of the *Indian Examiner*. Nor can we afford space to prove by quotations from the tale before us that *No Actress* is really fit to take its place beside some of the best written stories of the day. The story is supposed to be told by the heroine's father, and the personality of the narrative is well-sustained throughout. The plot is simple, yet full of interest; the incidents tragical, without being ridiculous. We are not going to say what the plot is, for we should be sorry to deprive our readers of the pleasure of reading it for themselves. But we cannot help saying that one great merit is the absence of that prying into details—that desire to explain every little mystery in the tale—which spoils the productions of so many superior novelists. Thus Mr. Besemerer never for a moment thinks it necessary to say how it

came about that that horrid man Rushworth never was burnt in the train after all, nor does he pause to enquire which particular blood-vessel it was that burst, when the heroine fainted away. He is content to relate the circumstances, and he leaves the rest to the imagination of his readers.

We shall quote but one extract to give some idea of Mr. Besemeres' style. The stage door-keeper is explaining how it was that his daughter at the outset of her career "had no idea of *acting*":—

"It was not as if she had been dull or low-spirited or anything of that; she was as cheerful as the day, especially with children or a young friend or so; and if I went out for a walk with her, she would sit down in the middle of a ring, and tell the young ones such tales about Little Red Riding-Hood and the Babes in the Wood, and such things as we make pantomimes of, that they would come far and near to hear. There was one round-headed charity boy, that nobody could get to learn his letters, though he had been caned to that degree that the guardians decided it would be better to expel him than continue the expense to the parish. after the overseer had kindly placed a sour apple-tree at the disposal of the school-master. Well, sir, Mab took him in hand, and pusted his alphabet together, and taught him spelling, till his words in one syllable were a treat to hear. He grew quite a reformed character under her management, and would go the rounds of the public houses, looking for me of a night if I stayed out unusual late, and lead me home, most respectful. In short, she did a world of good in her quiet way, and all the other ladies in the company whose dresses she would alter and whose children she would amuse, all declared how strange it was that, with so many good qualities, she had no idea of *acting*!"

Again:—

"I think that babies in a general way are very liable to be misunderstood, and not appreciated in consequence, much of their fractiousness being set down to teeth or wind, when in reality it arises from pins. Whenever Mab took a baby in her arms, though it might have cried its features quite out of shape with its mother, she seemed to know intuitively which was the proper side to lay it down on in her lap; and then she would pat its back a little, and pass her hands over it in a peculiar way that seemed like fondling, only I know it was eminently practical, and it was a hundred to one but what she'd find that there was a pin sticking into it through its roller, or else that the roller itself was tight enough to choke it, or something of that kind, though it was most in general pins. I dare say you felt it yourself, sir, if ever you went to take a baby and pricked your fingers over it, how much we suffer in infancy from the over-application of pins."

An Account of the late Govindram Mitter, "Naib Zemindar" in Mr. Holwell's days, and of his descendants in Calcutta and Benares. By a Member of the Family. Calcutta. 1869.

"THERE is a degree of sanctity," writes the author of this quaint and characteristic little pamphlet, "around the halo of antiquity. Man is naturally inquisitive, and his mind always yearns after the knowledge of the past, present and future." From this natural impulse the compiler was led to draw out a brief sketch, of 7 pages, of his great-great-grandfather, and a somewhat longer one, consisting of 29 pages, of—shall we say it?—himself. The whole pamphlet consists of 92 pages, 85 of which are occupied by an account of what the writer humourously calls "Govindram's offsprings." Though this discovery is somewhat disappointing to those who expect to find in this native history much that might throw light on the early history of Calcutta, the disappointment is to some extent made up by the amusing character of its contents. Though fulsome to a degree from the vanity and self-laudation of the writer, there is nevertheless a genuine ring in the narrative which reconciles the reader to its utter want of taste.

One of the characteristics of this Mitter family seems to be a large protuberance on the forehead—a regular bump of veneration—"a sign of sincere piety and religious fervidity." It seems that whenever one Bhagabuty Churn Mitter met his spiritual guide, "he would forthwith throw himself down, and bow to him by beating his forehead against the earth for no less than an hour, thus putting a stop to the passage of pedestrians and equestrians. * * Even the spiritual guide was tired by standing an hour or so to receive the *pronams* of his disciple." We are not told whether the bump is hereditary, though we are informed that "the family has been *proverbially* a religious one."

The following description of Kashishur Mitter—a Government pensioner—may be interesting as illustrating the life of an elderly native gentleman at the present day:—

"He now looks after the education of his children and attends to other private and domestic affairs. He devotes his time to the worship and contemplation of his Maker, and to the reading of religious and other useful works. He never sits idly at home. He keeps a regular diary of his daily proceedings and the *credits* of the day. He is a very straightforward, good-natured, patriotic, industrious, and sincerely pious man. In money matters he is very honest, strict and punctual. The golden maxims 'Honesty in the best policy' and 'the best worship of God is to do good to his creatures' have all along been the guiding principles and the mainsprings to the chequered life of Kassishur Mitter. He passed the 54th year of His age on the 16th Choitro 1275, or 28th March 1869. May His mercy bless him with health and peace on the eve of his life!"

Kassishur Mitter's biographer must be a veritable Boswell,

BENGALI LITERATURE.

Bráhmádiger Pratinibedan. By Bijay Krishna Gosvámí. Dacca Bengali Press.

THIS is an address to Bráhmas by the Bráhma preacher, Bijay Krishna Gosvámí. The chief points dwelt on by the writer are that, the worship of one God is the "very life of Bráhmaism," that Bráhmaism is a religion of universal love; and that it is pure, true and eternal. The most interesting part of the tract is that which contains rules for the guidance of faithful Bráhmas. They are as follows:—

(1) A man will be admitted into the membership of the Bráhma Samáj by making a public confession of his faith in the Bráhma religion. (2) A Bráhma should at least three times a day engage in worship, praise and prayer, according to the prescribed forms of the Samáj. (3) He should have family worship at least once a week. (4) Unless prevented by sickness or any other urgent cause, he should regularly every week attend the Samáj for public worship. (5) Both body and soul should be kept pure. (6) All initiated Bráhmas should be recognized as members of one and the same household. (7) They should meet at least once a week for social prayer. (8) At the time of devotion, the brethren should be borne in mind, and their faults forgiven. (9) If any brother falls sick or gets into trouble, other Bráhmas should try and help him. (10) Social intercourse should be cultivated among the brethren by visiting each other in their houses. (11) The families of the brethren should be collected together, and endeavours should be made to form a holy society. (12) In social intercourse, respect should be paid to the brethren according to their age. (13) When a brother commits a fault, he should be spoken to by another brother privately. (14) No brother should have any connection with idolatry, or in any way encourage it. (15) Every brother should preach Bráhmaism by his life. (16) The conduct of every Bráhma should be regulated with reference to the commands of the one God. (17) Every day the heart should be examined with reference to the above rules.

Padya Chandriká. By As'viní Kumar Ghose. Calcutta: Stanhope Press. B.E. 1276.

THE "Moonlight of Poesy" is a volume of 132 octavo pages, divided into four sections or parts which have no connection with each another. Some of the pieces are in rhyme and some in blank verse. The first part contains a "Prayer," "An Evening in Spring;" "Summer-eve," and a "Conversation between a teacher and his pupil." The second part amongst other things contains

lines addressed to the poets, Kálidás, Bhárat Chandra, Homer, Milton, M. M. S. Datta, and to Lord Bacon. The third part consists of the "Marriage of Damayanti;" the "Stealing of Párijáta;" the "Stealing of Subhadrá," and the "Entrance of Sitá into the Infernal regions." The fourth part contains the "Lamentations of Ráma at the capture of Sitá by Rávana," and a few other small pieces. We regret we cannot speak very favourably of this collection of poetical pieces. The ideas are common-place, and those which are good, are borrowed from either Indian or English poets. We hardly expected to find either sublime thoughts or original images; but we certainly expected correct and a somewhat melodious versification. In this, however, we have been disappointed. In a great many places the versification is incorrect and harsh to a degree. It must be evident to any one, except of course the author himself, that Sarasvati has denied him the poetical faculty; and as it is useless fighting against nature, Babu Asvini Kumár Ghose should, in our opinion, give up perpetrating poetry, and take to prose-writing, in which there is a possibility of his succeeding.

Udiyá svatantra bháshá nahe. By Kánti Chandra Bhattáchárya, Pundit of the Government School at Balasore. Calcutta: Giris-vidya-ratna Press. 1870.

WE learn from the preface to this book that recently the Bengali language has been abolished in the Courts of Orissa, and the Uriya substituted in its place. Our author thinks that this measure has been adopted through a misunderstanding on the part of the Commissioner and of the missionaries, in looking upon the Uriya as a language different from the Bengali. In the little book before us, the writer accordingly tries to show that the Uriya is not a separate language—that it is in fact *bad* Bengali. But in our opinion the Pundit of the Balasore Government School has failed to prove his case. The only argument which he adduces, though at some length, is that a great many Bengali and Uriya words are identical. But the same may be said of Bengali and Gujaráti; indeed we speak from personal experience when we say that an educated Bengali can understand nine-tenths of a Gujaráti discourse without even learning the alphabet of that language. But no one supposes that Gujaráti is *bad* Bengali. The fact is that Bengali, Uriya, Gujaráti and other Indian dialects, are all derived from the Sanskrit; their resemblance is to be traced only to that circumstance. We believe that Uriya is no more *bad* Bengali, than Low-Dutch is *bad* High-Dutch, or Provençal *bad* French. But granting, which we do not, that Uriya is *bad* Bengali, the Government, we think, is quite right

in making it the language of the Courts, since, though it be *bad* Bengali, it is good language in Orissa; and the people of Orissa, who are some three millions not only speak that language, but have in it a considerable literature which is increasing every day. The Indian Government would have been as little justified in imposing the Bengali language on the people of Orissa, as the Prussian Government has been in forcing High-Dutch on the people of Schleswig-Holstein

Brahma-bidyālay. By Ayodhya Nāth Pākadasi. Adi Brāhma-Samāj Press. Calcutta: Sakābdā 1791.

THIS treatise contains the substance of seventeen lectures delivered by the author at the Theological School of the old Brāhma-Samāj. As in these short critical notices we do not feel called upon to enter into theological discussion, we shall merely indicate the subjects of the lectures. They are as follows:—(1) on the importance of theological instruction; (2) on the knowledge and love of God; (3) on the means of attaining to the knowledge of God; (4) on the means of attaining to the love of God; (5) on the knower of God and the speaker of God; (6) on those who are entitled to be knowers of God and speakers on the part of God; (7) on the book of the Brahma religion; (8) the world and God; (9) God's truthfulness and His sovereignty over us; (10) God's power and will; (11) God's endless power and universal destruction; (12) God, like joy; (13) God, beyond word and mind; (14) on the vision of God, and delight in God; (15) on dwelling with God; (16) on fulfilling the will of God; (17) on obtaining delight in God, and fearlessness. The style of composition is admirable and often eloquent.

Bhāratabarshiya Sanātana Dharma Rakshani Sabhār Samvatsarika Bingaṇi. Calcutta: Sāhitya Press. B.E. 1277.

WE have before us the first Annual Report of the *Bhāratabarshiya Sanātana Dharma Rakshani Sabha*, of which Raja Kali Krishna Deb Bahadur is the President. We are not sure whether we rightly understand the meaning of the name of the Society. Is it "the Indian Society for the preservation of eternal religion?" or is it a "Society for the preservation of the eternal religion of India?" On a careful perusal of the programme of the objects of the Society, we conclude that the latter meaning is attached to the name;—its members evidently believing Hinduism to be the "eternal religion" of India. But by what means do the members hope to accomplish their end—the maintenance of this "eternal religion of India"? They are set

down as follows :—(1) By an exposition of the true scope of the *Sástras*; (2) by “rendering help to those who are engaged in perusing the *Sástras*,” (3) by “giving decisions to enquirers on doubtful points in religion,” (4) by “finding out and publishing the truth of the *Sástras* in cases where Pundits are divided in their opinion respecting any Vedic rite,” and (5) by “adopting measures in defence of the eternal religion of India, when attacked by any one with a view to its extermination.” Of such a society, of course, orthodox Hindus only can be members; but it is provided that if any person of Hindu birth, who has either embraced another religion or who has fallen away from the practice of religion, wishes to become a member of the Society, he may do so by going through a regular process of expiation. Such is the nature and character of the Association, whose first annual report is before us. The report itself is not of much interest. It contains a few hymns by the President; answers to questions put to the Society by various individuals; addresses by Raja Rajendra Narayan Deb and Babu Chandra Síkhar Mukhopádhya, and a letter from the Government of Bengal conveying to the President and “the members of the Dharma Sabha the thanks of the Lieutenant-Governor for the trouble taken by the Sabha in drawing up the *vyavasthá* designed to prove and declare that vaccination is not repugnant to orthodox Hinduism, but is rather in consonance with its precepts and traditions.” This last fact shows that the Society has been at least of some use.

Kavi-Rahasya. Part I. By Harishchandra Mitra. Dacca : Girija Press. 1870.

THIS is a poetical pamphlet of 52 pages, containing 39 short pieces, some of which are of fair merit. The author is a well-known writer and encourager of vernacular literature; and we are sorry to find from the preface, which is written by his brother, that he is labouring under protracted sickness.

Chitta-Toshini. By Surya Kumar Sen Gupta. Calcutta : Bengal Superior Press. 1870.

HERE is another poetical performance, or epic, as it is called, though it consists only of a number of short poems. Some of the subjects of those poems are as follows :—“Faith,” “Native Land,” the “Durga Puja,” “Love,” “Pride,” “Friendship,” the “Drunkard,” “the Earthquake of 10th January.” The writer attempts to be very witty, and his worst fault is the affecting of vulgar words.

Paramārtha-Gyan-Ratnākara. Translated into Bengali by Kosab Chandra Ráy. Calcutta: Kavitá-retnākara Press. Śakáabda 1791.

THIS is a translation into Bengali of several small moral treatises in Sanskrit. In a characteristic preface the writer attempts briefly to show—much like M. Jacolliet, with whose book, however, we scarcely think he can have any acquaintance—that the religion contained in the Bible has been borrowed from the Hindu Śāstras. “Abraham” is only another form of “Brahmá;” and the Holy Trinity is the *Ishvara*, *Paramátmá* and *Para-Brahma* of the Hindu books. Our author has not “the slightest doubt” that Christ is only a Judaic conception of the Hindu divinity Krishna, as the coincidences in their histories are truly wonderful. As, for fear of king Kangsa, Krishna fled with his father to Brajapur, so Jesus fled with his father to Egypt for fear of king Herod; as Balaráma was the precursor of Krishna when he himself “distributed love” at Brindabun, so John the Baptist was the fore-runner of Christ before he began to preach; Balaráma used to live on honey, so did John the Baptist; Krishna and Balabhadra sported in the waters of the Yamuna, so Christ and John the Baptist proclaimed love on the banks of the Jordan; Krishna selected twelve groves for his love-sports, so Christ chose twelve disciples for preaching love; Krishna fed sixty thousand people with the particle of a vegetable, so Christ fed five thousand people with five loaves and two fishes; Krishna restored to life his friend Arjjuna, so Christ raised His friend Lazarus from the dead; Krishna was killed by the arrow of a fowler while sitting on a *nimva* tree, so Christ died on the cross. “Therefore,” concludes our author, “the name and life of Krishna and Christ are identical, with this difference only, that as John the Baptist differed from Balaráma in eating locusts in addition to honey, so Christ differed from Krishna in raising himself from the dead.”

Káminikalanka. By Nobin Káli Debi. Calcutta: Vijayaraj Press. B.E. 1277.

WE simply mention this book in order to bring it to the notice of the Rev. Mr. Robinson or whoever may be the censor of Indian morals in literature. Anything more silly or more filthy could scarcely be conceived. There is sufficient internal evidence to show that it cannot have been written by any Hindu woman; the prurient scribbler (and we wish the Commissioner of Police could catch him) has simply put a lady's name on the title-page in order to attract attention and possibly a rapid and extensive sale.

THE



CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LI.

1870.

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly, to be cast away.--
MILTON

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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CIL

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
ART. I.—INDIAN LEGISLATION SINCE THE MUTINY.—	
1. Ancient Law By Henry Sumner Maine. London : John Murray, 1863.	
2. History of Prices in England, between 1250 and 1400. By Professor J. E. T. Rogers. Oxford : 1866.	
3. Acts of the Governor-General of India in Council, between 1858 and 1870. Calcutta : Government Press.	
4. Papers regarding the indebtedness of cultivators in Oudh. Published by Order of the Chief Commissioner. Lucknow : 1869	193
II.—THE FUTURE COINAGE OF INDIA.—	
1. Report of the Royal Commission on International Coinage. London : 1868.	
2. Gazette of India, Part V. Simla, 23rd July 1870 ...	214
III.—WOMAN	227
IV.—THE NICOBAR ISLANDS.—	
Papers relating to the Nicobar Islands.—Selections from the Records of the Government of India, No. LXXVII.	261
V.—SERPENT-WORSHIP.	
1. Tree and Serpent-Worship, or, Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India in the first and fourth centuries after Christ, from the Sculptures of the Buddhist Temples at Sanchi and Amravati, prepared under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council, with Introductory Essays and Descriptions of the Plates. By James Fergusson, Esq., F.R.S., M.R.A.S. London : 1868. W. H. Allen and Co.	
2. The Worship of Animals and Plants. By J. F. McLennan. [Fortnightly Review, 1869]	289

**ART. VI.—TOPOGRAPHY OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN THE
SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.—**

PART I.

**De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera. Joannes
de Laët. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzevi-
riana. Anno 1631.**

**CAP. I.—Indiæ sive Imperii Magni Mogolis Topogra-
phica Descriptio**

336

„ VII.—EDUCATION IN BENGAL

364

„ VIII.—WAHHABIS IN INDIA.—No. III.

381

CRITICAL NOTICES—

**The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, the Astronomer Poet of
Persia, rendered into English verse. Second Edition.
London : Bernard and Quaritch, Piccadilly. 1868 ... xvii.**

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

N^o CII.

ART. I.—INDIAN LEGISLATION SINCE THE MUTINY.

- 1.—*Ancient Law*. By Henry Summer Maine. London : John Murray. 1863.
- 2.—*History of Prices in England between 1259 and 1400*
By Professor J. E. T. Rogers Oxford : 1866.
- 3.—*Acts of the Governor-General of India in Council*, between
1858 and 1870. Calcutta, Government Press.
- 4.—*Papers regarding the indebtedness of cultivators in Oudh*
Published by order of the Chief Commissioner. Lucknow : 1869.

THE thirteen years which have passed over India since the outbreak of 1857, furnish a retrospect full of interest and matter for thought. The untiring energy and strong will of Lord Dalhousie had before that time uprooted the stolid mass of Indian conservatism. The monster was fairly set in motion. Then came the mutiny, levelling the old landmarks, reducing matters for a while to a state of primeval chaos, and of course imparting additional momentum to the movement in the direction of change. That momentum has been gathering force from year to year. Mental and material changes are being accomplished with startling rapidity. The ancient fabric of society is everywhere under repairs, but alas ! in too many cases is being patched up with very incongruous materials. The new agreeth not with the old, and the rent is made worse. The causes of this agitation and movement lie deep in those tendencies, which struggle for expression in such vague terms as "the spirit of the age," "a state of transition," and the like. It is, however, possible to indicate them with greater precision, and this is needed to understand the principles which have been at work in the administration of our Indian Empire.

The French Revolution revealed to the astonished Governments of Europe that 'the masses' were made up of men. If you pricked them, they would bleed. If you wronged them, they

would revenge. But not only so. It showed that in the most ignorant and sordid natures there are deep springs of love and admiration, which only need the touch of a true prophet's wand, to gush from the stony rock and fertilise the desert. The French Revolution was defaced by unspeakable atrocities, but it was not mere brutality or the lust of carnage which called an enslaved people into national life, and imparted invincible power to armies of recruits. It was a grand—it may be, an impossible—dream of a regenerated world,—a world of universal brotherhood, equality and freedom. These ideas were found to be more potent in action than hundreds of thousands of bayonets, and any weight of artillery. When the smoke and confusion of battle had cleared away, this fact remained; we have felt the wonder of it more and more, as the years passed by, until now we are in danger of plunging into the opposite extreme.

Man, battered and defaced with the iniquities of six thousand years, we are beginning to regard as an immaculate angel. Evil resides not in him, but in his circumstances. Do away with public houses; multiply mechanics' institutes; above all, lecture him whenever and wherever you have the chance; and you will rapidly see your man purified from earthly stains—"one entire and perfect chrysolite." This is that "enthusiasm of humanity" which distinguishes the age.

And a great conviction it is; for such an unbounded faith in humanity is the indispensable condition of advancement. But it carries with it also an element of error, which is manifest in our inordinate belief in the power of machinery to regenerate the mind. This springs, as a natural consequence, from the notion that evil is a creature of circumstance. Is Ireland disordered; do tenants shoot their landlords; secret societies flourish, and the like. The remedy is obvious. Pull down the establishment, reform the land-laws, improve the system of education, and your wild Irishman will at once become a tame cheater. "You may stroke him as gently as a puppy greyhound. He'll not swagger with a Barbary hen, if her feathers turn back in any show of resistance." This theory of humanity is gradually producing a notion that the science of government is deductive—not, as it really is, inductive. This too is inevitable. If man be an angel only a little disguised by circumstances, all that needs to be done is to make a clean sweep of the circumstances, and then apply the methods which philosophic philanthropists have worked out for restoring him to the angelic condition. In England the number of men is legion, who with Mill's *Political Economy* under their arm, or perhaps a volume of the *Positive Philosophy*, and the use of a lecture hall, are prepared to usher in a millennium, wherein every working man shall labour

for six hours a day on abundant wages, and then in the bosom of his family "discourse of virtue, till the time for bed." Fortunately the weight of vested interests and unlimited freedom of discussion prevent these theories from being brought to the test of practice. The most vehement reformers are compelled to reason and to prove, as well as to assert. Their schemes are passed through the fire of hostile criticism, not seven times only, but seventy times seven. Every particle of alloy is carefully smelted out before they are permitted to pass as sound currency, or made the basis for legislation.

But in this country there can be no such thorough sifting. There is no public opinion to be appealed to, or to respond. Government must *lead* the general intelligence, if any thing at all is to be done. All the preliminaries of legislation, the laborious collection of facts, their arrangement and analysis, their bearing and tendency as interpreted by history, their approximate effects on the moral and material condition of human beings, which in England are the work of specially trained intellects, must in this country be entrusted to officials, burdened with other duties, possessed of no wide experience, and, speaking generally, destitute of any knowledge, philosophical or historical. Here, the tests of capacity are a faculty of producing very long reports, and a small acquaintance with the writings of Mr. John Stuart Mill. These, naturally enough, are found too often insufficient for the strain put upon them. A truly admirable desire for the happiness of the people undirected by adequate knowledge, has forced on the present condition of the country—one of confusion and anxiety. There is not war or universal bankruptcy or any other general calamity, but a growing distrust between governors and governed; an increasing alienation between the various races which inhabit our empire.

Deductive ideas of government, worked with feverish activity, have come in contact with a social system which has become absolutely organic during the slow lapse of ages, and have striven to engraft upon it in a single decade changes which a tremendous Revolution and more than half a century of thought and discussion have failed to accomplish in England. The purpose of the present paper is to point out in some cardinal instances the consequences of these ideas, and the ill effects of laws enacted without sufficient consideration for the social institutions and habits of thought and action of the people whom they affect.

In writing about the people of India, it is difficult to avoid the danger of too wide generalization. The Burman has as little in common with the Afghan as the Parsi has with the man of Kabul, but as much of the legislation of which we complain has been made applicable to scores of dissimilar races, it is impossible to avoid treating the subject in an equally general manner.

The reader, however, will be good enough to understand that the bulk of our observations refer, more particularly to that part of India known as the Bengal Presidency.

The learned author of *Ancient Law* has written two chapters which are peculiarly applicable to India—his disquisitions, namely, on *Patria Potestas*, and the gradual evolution of the individual into a separate existence, as the family merged into the tribe, and the tribe into the nation. In the first he shows the supremacy in olden time of the father's will—how, until the son was emancipated, the father was lord of his son's property and person, and almost sole arbiter of the son's wife and children. The parallel between this state of things and the Hindu joint family is striking. Around us we have thousands of examples of the exercise of this same authority. We see the father taking all the earnings of himself and his sons, and holding them under his own control: we see the family expenses regulated by him, the marriages of his grandchildren arranged by him, discipline among the wives and children of his sons enforced by him. We see him paramount in the household, none venturing to disobey his behests, the younger women not daring to bring even his name on their lips, or to show their faces uncovered in his presence. To a large extent these customs govern the domestic life of Moslems; particularly among those tribes which, like the Muhammadan Rajputs and Goojurs of Upper India, have been converted to Islamism within the last twenty generations, and preserve the feeling of kinship with their Hindu brethren, despite the change of creed, still speaking of themselves as of the same *Bhayachara* with those Hindus. In this respect, then, a large part of our Indian Empire is in the same state socially as in the days of Manu, or as Roman society when the *Patria Potestas* was in full force. The times have changed, but the people have not changed with them.

Take another feature, the binding together of individuals into masses. The instinct of the bee and the beaver ruled the early races of man, and however theorists may declaim about the strength of union and the gregariousness of human kind, the fact remains unquestionable that the tendency of modern times has been to an isolation rather than a community of interests. Cities are aggregations of units brought together by self-interest, not corporate bodies, as they would have been in ancient times, and still were far on in the middle ages. For further illustration of this interesting problem in social science we would refer our readers to the lucid and logical exposition of it in *Ancient Law*. But while the fact is so with regard to those civilized and cultivated nations, which form the population of the West, it is otherwise in India. Every one's experience can illustrate this position in reference to Indian life in the village, the house, the shop. The fact is notorious.

Within the bounds of the various subdivisions of caste among Hindus and Hinduized Moslems, no individual of the body feels able to act in any important matter without the assent at least of a portion of his congeners. Should he be audacious enough to attempt it, he would speedily be overpowered by the voice of public opinion. The popularity of the institution of the punchayet proves this. It is a matter which comes perpetually under our own ken. When one of our domestic servants is suspected of an offence against etiquette or the maxims of caste, he is tried by his peers, and the award of the extemporaneous tribunal is rigidly enforced. The vast use made of the punchayet in the decision of petty civil disputes in the Madras Presidency, where its existence is countenanced and its dictates enforced by British law—the popularity and usefulness of similar tribunals in the Non-Regulation Provinces, bear witness that the people of India preserve an attachment to their ancient institutions far greater than our unsympathetic habit of mind permits us to conceive of—that the units of society cohere with a force of adhesion and under the stress of relations which we can little realize—and, in a word, that society has not yet passed into the stage when the community splits up into an aggregation of individuals. Granted then these two positions, *first*, that we whose sons break loose from parental control on reaching maturity, and who pride ourselves on individuality and independence, are little able to realize the conditions lying at the base of the social fabric with which we have to deal in India; *secondly*, that a large part of recent legislation in India has been built on a foundation of English law which is adapted to English economy—and the inference is inevitable, that many of our laws must be the occasion of suffering and disorder, among those they are intended to benefit.

With these prefatory observations, we will go on to examine the legislation of the Viceroy's Council since 1858, when the Five Acts had happily become obsolete, order had been pretty generally restored, and Lord Canning's policy of restoring dignity to hereditary nobles and creating a true aristocracy had come to be pretty widely known and believed in; when, too the Governor General became the Viceroy, and the Queen the titular, as well as the real, sovereign of all the Indies.

Grouping this legislation, not chronologically but according to subject matter, we may consider it under its aspects as affecting—

The village;

The home or family;

Trade;

Justice.

• And first as regards the village. The system of fiscal administration introduced into the Mogul Empire by Akbar and

his gifted chancellor Todar Mull, was thrown into partial abeyance by the Mahratta and Pindari wars, and the confusion which covered the decadence of that Empire. This state of abeyance lasted more or less completely until the study of the *Ain-i-Akbari* and acquaintance with village life in the North-West Provinces led Robert Bird and James Thomason to the conclusion that Akbar's system was the best suited to the genius of the people. By their exertions it was re-integrated, and the fiscal administration settled on that model. There are in this system three salient points which bear out our proposition that modern legislation has not harmonized with the archaic forms adopted in the Thomasonian settlement. First, there is the doctrine that the State, as ultimate owner of the soil, is entitled to a share in its proceeds. Second, the institution of the village community. Third, the existence of the *emphyteusis*, as the Romans styled him, whom we cumbrously designate hereditary cultivator.

The theory of the ultimate proprietary right vesting in the State is indeed one which, by reason of its profitableness, no Indian statesman has as yet dared to reject—still less to disown by any formal legal enactment. Mistakes have unquestionably been committed, and those on a large scale, by too rigorous an adherence to this maxim, and by fixing the State's share of agricultural produce at too high a figure relatively to the altered value of currency of labour, of land, and of cattle for husbandry; but all such mistakes were perpetrated before the period of which we treat, and are not likely to occur again. On the other hand, we have had in 1861 Lord Canning's waste land rules (which should indeed have been called the land waste rules) lavishly foregoing the supreme right of the State to a fixed portion of the proceeds of land by the low price at which waste land was to be sold, and the privilege offered of redeeming the land tax for ever. Fortunately local Governments by dilatory action prevented these rules from taking effect to any large extent; and the Secretary of State was led by wise counsels at home to restrict their operation, so far as to make them comparatively harmless, but the principle which they embodied is all that we desire to call attention to. Again, we have had during the same period the astonishing proclamation by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces that land may be had there at a nominal price and free of revenue for ever, and we learn that up to 31st December 160,000 acres had been so sold: in other words, 250 square miles of soil thrown away, on terms which to Todar Mull or even to Thomason would have foreshadowed speedy bankruptcy. We have also the fact that in the three districts of the Lahore division, traversed by a railway, bounded by two rivers, containing the political capital, and adjoining the commercial capital of a new province

with the means of indefinite improvement, on a revision of assessment after twenty years of peace, only £1,300 were added to the Government revenue, although the prices of agricultural produce had risen threefold, and the old assessments were paid without a murmur when wheat sold at forty or fifty seers for the rupee, and railways and roads were not. These almost nominal assessments were avowedly made in order to pave the way for a permanent settlement—that dream of philanthropists who fail to see that in relieving Paul of dues which he and his ancestors have paid under the common law of the land from ages immemorial, they rob Peter by compelling the Crown to let loose on him the inquisitorial Income Tax assessor, the custom's officer and the exciseman. Instances could easily be multiplied, but we forbear, for enough has been said to establish the position, that recent action has set at naught, and that systematically, one of the three distinctive features of the old land law of India.

To come to its second feature—the village community. This, Mr. Maine shows (*Ancient Law*, p. 260 et seq.) to be one of the most ancient types of society existing in the world, and one of those which have been least understood by English legislators. We quote some of his words scattered over the pages containing his masterly dissertation on the subject. "The village community of India is at once an organized patriarchal society and an assemblage of co-proprietors. The personal relations to each other of the men who compose it, are *inextinguishably confounded with their proprietary rights*,"* and to the attempts of English functionaries to separate the two may be traced some of the most formidable miscarriages of Anglo-Indian administration. The village community is known to be of immense antiquity * * * * * and the most beneficent systems of government in India have been always those which have recognized it as the basis of administration.* * * In all these brotherhoods the tradition is preserved, or the assumption made, of an original common parentage.* * * The tokens of extreme antiquity are discoverable in almost every feature of the Indian village community." We might multiply quotations to shew the indivisibility of this sort of ownership, and the primitive character of the institution to which we refer, were it needful to our argument. But, bearing these two points in mind, let us look at the two laws which have turned rights in land topsy-turvy within these last eleven years, and in effect converted tenants into proprietors, and proprietors into ciphers. We allude of course to Act X of 1859 and

* The Italics are ours. Surely Mr. Maine must have forgotten this pregnant passage, when by voting in Council for the Punjab Tenancy Bill in 1868 he helped so materially to weaken such proprietary rights in communities.

Act XXVIII of 1868—the Rent Law and the Punjab Tenancy Act. In both these laws, notably in the former, we enforce our western limitation law and our communistic tendencies on a community as old as the Aryan immigration. We impose a law which did not exist even in England till the 17th century, upon a community of cultivating proprietors bound together by customs of immeasurable antiquity. We single out as the recipient of special advantages any man who has held the land he cultivates for a period of twelve years antecedent to the enactment. We injure thereby not merely the one brother whose tenant this hereditary cultivator nominally is, but the whole body of cultivating proprietors; for the strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest link, and by diminishing the power of any one member to resist adversity, we impair the vitality and diminish the strength of the entire brotherhood. Now this is in direct contravention of the distinguishing merit which the Akbar system possessed, and which, so far as this, the Thomasonian settlement accepted and perpetuated. Strange, that even that great benefactor and philanthropist did not see the inconsistency between his maintenance of the integral unity of the village community, and the license which he gave to the irruption of the hereditary cultivator. Stranger yet that our legislators, with advanced knowledge to guide them, should stereotype the inconsistency, and by their unphilosophical adherence to modern ideas make such a heterogeneous mass as an archaic village community, saddled with a parasitical growth of hereditary cultivators, the outcrop of modern limitation rules, modified and cherished by communistic theories. It is well known that in many village administration papers drawn up at settlement, especially in the Punjab, there is a distinct clause providing against the application of English limitation law to the case of an absentee proprietor. In the instances we refer to, and they are legion, the brotherhood have voluntarily stipulated at settlement in terms like these. “We, the signatories to this administration paper, do hereby acknowledge that “A. B. and C. have rights of proprietorship in this village as per “detail annexed; we do hereby agree that although they are not “now resident in the village, we will put them in possession “of their shares without demur, whenever they may return.” Now in the existence of this clause which is to be found in the agreements of many thousands of villages, our legislators might have seen the reluctance of the village communities that English theories should operate to the detriment of their absentee brethren, even when the application of those theories was of advantage to the signatories. How much more earnestly would they have protested against the inroad on their rights by the installation of the hereditary cultivator by a simple ‘legal fiction’ into nearly all the

rights and privileges of the brotherhood without their responsibilities? The so-called proprietors of the villages are jointly and generally responsible for the punctual payment of the Government revenue; the hereditary cultivators are under no such responsibility, and, we say it without any hesitation, are, under the operation of our new laws, in a far more advantageous position than the nominal proprietors whose lands they till.

We have styled the hereditary cultivator the *emphyteusis* in deference to a popular theory which holds him to be such. But a much nearer analogy to the old tenure of the *emphyteusis* is to be found in some of those quasi-feudal tenures given by native governors to such of their followers as could carve out an inheritance by the sword. Such persons are known in the Punjab as conquest-tenure jagirdars. Their occupancy of their acquired possessions and rule over them was not liable to disturbance by the dominant power, so long as they contributed their fixed contingents for war, and paid revenue and homage in times of peace. The difference between them and the Roman colonists was that these planted themselves on the land by their own good swords, and the Romans were located by the Republic. Between either of these classes and the modern Indian hereditary cultivator the difference is wide, and the analogy faulty.

In the foregoing remarks we would not wish it to be understood that we maintain that Akbar's revenue system recognized no hereditary cultivator. Such persons did certainly exist, when that system was framed and in all time since. But their rights were far narrower than our legislation has lately made them, and their tenure depended on the actual fact of a *transmitted inheritance*, not on a lapse of twelve or thirty years. A tenant might live on his land for half a century and not become a hereditary cultivator; and on the other hand three generations might successively occupy the land in a decade when the rights would probably have been conceded,—not, however, we repeat, such rights as have been now given—rights co-extensive with absolute ownership and imperilling the very existence of the proprietary body, and the security of the Government revenue. For when ownership is in effect gone, what guarantee have we for the realization of the revenue? Sell the estate! the estate is in the clouds, the owners hold the shadow, the substance is given to the hereditary tenant, who can sell or mortgage his tenure, and can perpetuate his line by adoption, and so maintain an irreversible dominion over the whole profits of the land.

The laws regulating the devolution of land in Oudh are a sad instance of the want of power in the British mind to shake itself loose from fetters imposed by years of routine. The officers who were placed in power in Oudh in 1856, were men of ability

and conscientiousness, but they had been brought up in the North-Western Provinces where the larger proprietors of land had seen their property pass away into the hands of peasants whom we had raised to proprietors, which same peasants have since seen their holdings given under Act X of 1859 to so-called hereditary cultivators. These higher officials in Oudh came to a newly annexed province with theories drawn from the practice of their past career. They looked on every Talukdar as an enemy of his race, a wholesale robber, murderer and usurper. True to this principle, they deemed it their mission to do right to the oppressed. Lords of broad acres which had descended to them from an ancestry of respectable length, were at a stroke of the pen deprived of their estates. Raja Man Singh himself was put in jail for showing some obstreperous dislike of this procedure, and the Oudh Talukdars were brought down to the dead level which had long since engulfed the aristocracy of the North-West Provinces.

In the spectacle of a happy peasantry, the authors of this mischief anticipated their reward and rejoiced exceedingly. The ladies of the Bailey Guard, the engineer officers who lay full length on the ground listening at dead of night for the ominous clinking of the miner's pickaxe—these, and many a widow and orphan in England, know how false was that anticipation, how tremendous the storm that followed, how gigantic the forces raised by the feudal lords we hoped to have eradicated, how wide-spread the rebellion, how deep the hate of the British which our erroneous policy evoked. Sympathising with the aristocracy, while determined to punish their bloodthirsty revengefulness, Lord Canning, himself a king of men, at one sweep confiscated all landed rights in Oudh, and in the next sentence loftily gave them back as a free gift of the Crown. In this manner, while precluding any person from alleging his claims as a matter of right, he declared that the Crown would willingly surrender its newly acquired lands, to any one who could establish a title which would have been good if its holder had not rebelled. Encouraged by this magnanimity, the Talukdars came into Lucknow in April and May 1858 in some numbers, to proffer fealty to the State. But the delay in finally suppressing the rebellion again excited their hopes, again seemed to offer opportunities for successful ambition. In June and July many of the half repentant returned to their old ways; and those who had made no submission twitted those who had. But when in October Lord Clyde took the field in mighty force, and 'rolled up' rebellion into the Nepalese jungles, all the remaining Talukdars came in, and Lord Canning's policy took full effect.

But the vacillations of rulers, the oscillations of circumstances on such a scale, must shake society woefully. There were estates in

which engagements for revenue had been taken first from the obedient Talukdar in April—then from his obedient tenant (the engagement holder of 1856-57) in June—then again from some crafty canoongoo who had managed to establish his claim in July to the satisfaction of the Settlement Commissioner—then again from the repentant Talukdar in October; and each of these engagements was supposed to convey proprietary right to its holder over the village or villages specified in the schedule which accompanied it. The reconciliation of these conflicting claims was a matter of immense difficulty. Still some kind of unravelling of the tangle had taken place, when in 1864 Sir John Lawrence became Governor-General, and revived the whole dispute by ordering a fresh enquiry into the claims of under-tenants, which had been to his thinking overlooked. It was well for Oudh that the officer selected to perform this task was of calm judgment, and had no bias to blind his discernment.

After three more years of misery and turmoil, the question was finally set at rest by the discovery that on the whole Sir John's views were mistaken, and that the Talukdars in a very large number of cases were the true lords of the soil. Two or three Acts of the legislature were required to settle matters on a firm basis, and put the question out of reach of doctrinaires, and now, for better or for worse, we may hope that the conflict of twelve years having subsided, peace and order will reign, though universal contentment cannot. We have called these laws a sad instance of British shortsightedness, not because they are in themselves bad, but because they are the enduring monument of weak mistrust on the part of Lord Lawrence of the judgment of his predecessors, a judgment which had been formed in the furnace of affliction and under a baptism of blood.

Leaving now the consideration of modern legislation as it has affected the village, let us view it in relation to the family. Seen in this aspect, the picture appears to greater advantage. The Penal Code, the Indian Infanticide Act, the Native Converts' Marriage Act, the Parsi Marriage Act, and (although it belongs to a date slightly anterior to that to which we more especially desire to direct attention) the Widows Remarriage Act, as well as the Municipal Acts, are all laws which are innovations of more or less value. The marriage Acts were called for by the exigencies of the case, and drafted or approved by those whose tenderest interests were involved. They fulfil the primary canons of a good law, seeing that they meet an admitted want, neutralize a vast evil, and remove stumbling blocks out of the way of our advancing society. The same may be said of the last in point of date of this group of laws—the Act for the Suppression of Child Murder. It will be one of the fadeless

glories of Lord Mayo's reign that he put his signature to this noble Act, a fit follower and supplement to that for the abolition of suttee. Where innovation is necessary to enforce among men the law of God, let us have it to any extent. Where it is called for by the voice of society for the removal of odious or fettering restrictions, let us have it without stint. Where it is the result of mere lucubration and of theoretical application of disputed principles, let us shun it as a serpent. The Penal Code contained some innovations, but being for the most part a mere re-arrangement of well-tried laws, it is obnoxious to little remark in such an essay as the present which treats mainly of novelties.

There can be no doubt that our application to India of the English law of persons has been more happy than that of our law of things; partly perhaps because the former has its root more deeply in the primary and lasting necessities of society, and partly because moving in accordance with the Divine laws for governing the universe, and coming in contact with a heathenish, and in many cases unnatural, condition of society, it found more room for its legitimate working, and a foundation in the approval of all wise men of every sect and creed, which could not accompany the application of a law of things. The one is based on human necessities, which are the same throughout the globe, the other on a variety of considerations, figments of law, periods of conquest and emigration, influences of climate, of tradition, of blood. In such diversities it was to be expected that occidental and oriental strains meeting would produce disharmony—that minds cast in one mould must turn out laws unsuited to minds cast in a wholly different one.

That such is the result, any one can see. Against what class of laws during the time of their incubation have the adverse comments of the native press been mainly launched? What class is it which has most frequently required to be repealed, which has been most constantly subjected to change or modification? What class has drawn out the most ill-feeling among the English community? The laws of persons, or of things? The answer to these questions may conclude our remarks on this branch of our review.

In the laws affecting commerce and trade we find scope for wide differences of opinion. These are the Acts creating Municipalities, the Labour Importation Acts, the Joint Stock Companies, Banking, Currency, Registration, and Stamp Acts, the Income and License Tax Acts, the laws regulating Telegraphs, Railways, and the Post Office, the Weights and Measures Act. So far as these Laws were needful to regulate changes of our own introduction as the Railway, Telegraph and Post Office, there was a manifest necessity for them. People who use all these novelties

with the avidity displayed by the natives of this country cannot grumble at having certain paths marked out for them wherein they must walk. And these laws being the growth of experience, and elaborated with care, their application to India has been beneficial. Prior to 1867 there was a law regulating the procedure and constitution of those institutions which in their European form were the life of trade and commerce, to which the Hanseatic League owed its vitality, and much religious toleration its very existence. But the law for municipalities in India was seen by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab to be capable of large and profitable extension, and he consequently procured the enactment of a law in 1867, which has been the parent of others, providing for the organization of bodies for self-government and local taxation. This has been hitherto productive of great good, but is merely tentative, and, unless extended, ceases to operate in 1872. But each day's experience shows that local taxation is now a necessity of the empire, and that it is wise and proper to permit the local municipalities to raise funds for local purposes in their own way. There is little doubt that the Act will be extended, and it will be of great profit that it should be perpetuated. The power which it confers upon the municipality to make bye-laws for sanitation, and enforce the registration of births and deaths, is exceedingly disliked by the people. It has been said with truth "that our "sanitation laws stink in the noses of the people more than their "own cess-pools," but we cannot deny the right of a Government to enforce common cleanliness and decency, which the poor in every country are too apt to ignore, and which are proved by universal experience to be productive of longer and happier lives, and hence of profit to the community at large.

Turning now to the laws which more immediately influence the course of trade, we come first to those for regulating the paper currency. To make them popular and better suited to the genius of the people, they must undergo two changes which the Government of India see to be inevitable, but which they lack courage or perhaps experience to bring about. The convertibility of the note must be largely increased and the denomination reduced. Without going so far as some thinkers and writers on Indian finance, who advocate a dollar note, or even one for a single rupee, we would gladly welcome the issue of five-rupee notes. These alone will be largely used, and the risk of loss by destruction, accident or theft, will not be so great as to deter small tradesmen in villages from possessing such paper. It must be admitted that the question of an Indian paper currency is beset with many difficulties, but the latest Act on the subject, that of last Session, which empowered the Executive to invest two more millions in Government securities, is a step in the right direction. Further information and experience, it

may be hoped will enable the Council to legalize a complete removal of present embarrassing restrictions.

The Joint Stock Companies' Act has comparatively so little bearing on the natives of India, that any discussion of its effects would be out of place. Acts regulating emigration affect only an infinitesimal part of the population. The innovations which they countenance, may hereafter become of wider application; so far as they go, their object is humane, and their working practically useful. These remarks, however, in no way apply to the Registration and Stamp Acts. Both of these being universal in application, their influence extending to every family, and affecting the transactions of every petty shop-keeper from Comorin to Peshawur, from Kurrachee to Almora, demand some notice. The Registration Act proceeds, to our thinking, on false premises. The underlying principle of it is that, as in Europe, so in India, it is a security for contracts of all sorts that they should be registered: and that the voluntary action of parties, so far as it be not opposed to distinct law, public policy or morality, should always be left to itself; and not only so, but that it should be fostered by constituted authority, which authority, if called on to adjudicate in a disputed case, finds its task facilitated, and the course of justice quickened, by having before it a document duly authenticated by an unbiased Government Officer. Now all this is true only if there be good faith on the side of both parties, at least when they contracted. Good faith implies full knowledge of facts, and the absence of unfair advantage. A well-known principle of law is that "force, fraud, and duress, vitiate any contract." Let us consider for one moment, what is the nature of the very large majority of contracts in India. They are engagements between the money-lender and the villager, as bonds, mortgages, acknowledgments of book debts, and such like. It needs not the experience of the Indigo riots in Bengal; it needs not the remembrance of the transfer of nearly the whole of Rohilcund before the rebellion from the Rohilla owners to the Hindu bunyas by the operation of our Courts; it needs not the publication of the Chief Commissioner's invaluable papers, exhibiting the relations between peasant and money-lender in Oudh, to prove that in very many cases the bonds exacted are worthy of Shylock alone. He will sell the peasant's last ox, he will take an irredeemable mortgage of his last rood of land, rather than forego his 30 per cent. interest, and if he can, he will have the engagement to pay authenticated by the seal and signature of a Registrar, who, if an honorary rural Registrar, and not an Officer of Government, is not unlikely to have a personal interest in the transaction. It is beside the point to argue that the contracting parties both

knew what they were about. It will be allowed by every Registrar you choose to ask that they do not; or if they do, that the borrower is in a vast majority of cases so hopelessly enchained by the lender, and so much in terror of the decree of Court which hangs like a sword over his head, that he is in truth not a free agent, and the contract is one which, if the equities were rightly weighed, would be void as executed under duress. Some Registrars, in their humane endeavours to protect the weak and foolish, insist on seeing the money paid over in their presence. The quick wit of the obligee meets this. In one case which came under our notice, a bag full of copper topped with rupees was laid before the over-inquisitive Registrar: in another, as the old woman who received cash in the office was too feeble to carry out 9lbs weight of silver coin, the mortgagee was kind enough to carry it for her—to his own house however—and was also kind enough to pay the hire of the pony on which she rode; this hire, and a new suit of clothes being all wherein she ever profited by the one thousand rupees for which she mortgaged her land. Such examples have doubtless come under the notice of every Civil Officer of any experience in the country. And apart from the general scope of the Act, we would draw particular attention to the Sections numbered 52 to 56, which rule that within one year from date of registration, specially registered documents (*viz.*, those on which double fees have been paid) may be brought into Court, and there treated precisely as a decree. It is not too much to say that at least some of the High Courts have tacitly allowed these provisions as applied to this country to be monstrous; and the exercise of legal finesse has mitigated their rigour as far as was possible. Thus it has been ruled that the law only holds if the obligor himself be the person from whom the money is to be recovered—it cannot be employed as against his heir. It has been also ordered by one local Government, on the suggestion of the Chief Court of the Province, that no Judicial Officer is to hear any such application, if the document has been previously registered before himself in his executive capacity. This, be it perceived, is to guard against the temptation of double fees on the one hand, and the possibility of his having an interest in the subject matter on the other. Now, can a law be defended which requires to be repeatedly checked and modified in this fashion, which compels the Executive in the interests of humanity to resort to shifts and dodges to neutralize its evil as far as may be? No language can describe the mischief to which it may give rise, as it is evident that both the Judiciary and the Executive everywhere see, and yet it was passed only four years ago, and, notwithstanding all the expression of high opinion against it, still encumbers the Statute Book. We have very serious doubts

whether any Registration law at all, except as between Europeans and Americans, is of advantage in India: we have none in asserting that Sections 52 to 56 are engines of crushing tyranny, where wealth and deceit find a royal road constructed for them by the Legislature into the honest earnings of the husbandman, the patrimony of the orphan, the scanty possession of the widow and the forlorn.

The history of the Stamp Acts which we next review, is curious. The old Stamp Acts were various and manifold in different parts of the empire. Bengal, Bombay, and Madras had each its own. As these were all of date prior to the mutiny, they are now, to all intents and purposes, fossil antediluvians. Stamp duties were a part of Mr. Wilson's scheme for restoring the financial equilibrium in 1860, and the first recent Act was numbered XXXVI of 1860. It was found to be like his Income Tax Act, too English in complexion to be practically useful; and so, two short years after, it was supplanted by Act X of 1862, a modified version of it, and an amending Act which was passed immediately after it, numbered XVII of 1860. This Act of 1862 possessed greater vitality, for as regards duties on documents other than those connected with the administration of justice, it lasted for nearly eight years. The Legislature, however, could not help patching it as regards Court dues in 1867; for in that year they passed an Act radically changing the schedule of such fees, and greatly raising the scale. Whether the ghost of Professor Mill had since haunted in the Law Member's face those pages of his history wherein he furiously denounces all taxation of justice, we cannot say: the fact remains, that in 1869 the Act of 1867 was repealed, and a new one, called the Court Fees Act, was put in its place, by which the Courts are now guided. The chances are that in a year or two the Finance Member will come to loggerheads with the Law Member, complaining of the unnecessary waste of income induced by the Court Fees Act, and will cause it to be repealed, and the Act of 1867 revived. However this may be, we have had in ten years six different Stamp Acts,—the second tinkering the first; the third repealing both; the fourth repealing half the third; the fifth repealing the other half; the sixth repealing the fourth; and all these six ignoring the poor old one which had done duty for a quarter of a century. Surely some one has forgotten the maxim—"festina lente!" Surely it must confuse the Financial Secretary's Budget calculations to have all this change! Surely it is a pitiful thing to waver backwards and forwards in such wise in high affairs of State!

Our opinion regarding the Court Fees Act is that it was quite unnecessary, and has been the cause of a useless sacrifice of income. Act XXVII of 1867 worked well enough: it tended

to diminish litigation, it rated revenue-paying land at its true value of eight times the revenue, and it was free from that distressing minuteness of detail which obscures the Court Fees Act, and which can only be characterized as an attempt to accomplish the impossible—or, in other words, to tax petitioners at the courts of justice in such a manner that they should absolutely like to be taxed. The waste of time caused to all executive functionaries high and low, by the necessity for studying the lengthy tables and the involved structure of both the recent Acts, is not appreciated by the authors of the measures, but to the every-day life of the Magistrate and Collector it is an added burden which might well have been spared. And it is well that we note one more obstacle in the way of the due execution of these laws, and that is the inaccuracy of the translation. The Penal Code was translated by a Committee of native gentlemen, and the translation, though laboured and too ornate, is yet such that it can be understood by a painstaking man. But in the vernacular editions of these Acts no such precautions have been taken, and although each local Government has been directed to have translations prepared in the vernacular of the Province, the Urdu translations, being made by the staff of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, are in some cases unintelligible; and much of a Collector's time is taken up in explaining the meaning thereof to his subordinates. Things unknown to oriental usage should be explained by a foot-note; what man inland knows what is meant by a "Charter-Party" for instance, or its vernacular equivalent? Even the English conception of a deed of release, translated "*farighkhati*," is very imperfectly rendered by that word; the English signifying release from an admitted but unsatisfied obligation, the Urdu—payment in full of a debt.

Akin to the Stamp Acts as a resource for improving the revenue, are the Income and License Tax Acts. So much has been written and said about these, that we may well spare ourselves any lengthy disquisition, but we may point out that the observation just made concerning the mutability of the Stamp Acts, applies yet more strongly to these. In ten years there have been no less than seven; the first and second on one principle; the third or License Tax on another; the fourth on yet another; the fifth on a modification of that of the first and second; the sixth raising the rates legalized by the fifth but maintaining its principles; and the seventh, a hybrid *monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum*, an attempt at letting rich, and therefore presumably honest, people tax themselves, and poor, and therefore presumably dishonest, people be taxed by the Collectors. The author of this effort of genius must have been taught in his youth, as Miss Kilmansegg was,

That people with naught, were naughty.

Let us not forget in naming these seven Acts, that there was one more, or the talk of one more, for imposing a license on trades in 1860, which, however, remained *brutum fulmen*, not having been enforced. As we have said before, the only reason we do not discuss these enactments further, is that we have had, and shall have, quite enough of them without.

The Weights and Measures Act is the last enactment which claims attention in this division of the subject. It is not the first time in history, by many scores of examples, that the pursuit of that which is good in the abstract has misled men into launching measures which are mischievous in application. It is too obvious for remark that in legislation, as in morals, a merely abstract goodness which gives way under the stress of facts, is virtually good for nothing. Our idea of this Act is that it is like using a rifle for snipe shooting. It is not possible to imagine greater confusion than would be caused if this Act were really enforced. The most petty transaction of the cottage spinner would be governed by it; and it would be one more tool placed in the hands of that numerous and unscrupulous class, more numerous in India than in any other country, who live by using their superior knowledge to the detriment of the ignorant and the weak. Matters of arithmetical reduction of the old *seer* into the new "*ser*," of the old *chittack* into the new decimal of a "*ser*," would always be managed to the injury of those who have no helper. Luckily the Bill is permissive only, as regards its most stringent clauses; and it is very much to be hoped that the local Governments will show themselves wiser than the Members of the Council who voted the proposal into law, and will quietly refrain from enforcing this Act, at least until the present agitation in prices shall have subsided. No more unfortunate or inopportune time could have been chosen by the meddling theorists, who in India would refer for our standards of length and capacity to certain bits of brass lying in a Parisian office. Here within the last dozen years we have had universal rebellion, unexampled importations of silver, three widespread famines, five equally widespread seasons of pestilence, immense impulse given to the growth of cotton, jute, and opium, besides such less important articles as tea, oilseeds, and products other than food. We have had exchanges with England ruling at rates never known before. We have had a deluge of legislation, rural, social, commercial, judicial; telegraphs and railways driven in everywhere; and now our legislators must needs crown the structure, or rather, shall we say, try to give a last blow to knock down the structure of society, by this vast bill for interfering in every single operation of trade. If enforced, it is admitted the law would be of incalculable damage: its merit was said, even by its author, to lie in its quiescence

and the large discretion surrendered by the Viceroy to his subordinates as to when and where it should be introduced. Then why was it passed? It reminds one very much of Juno shaking her fist with furious menace, but stopping short at "*Quos ego*"—

No retrospect of recent legislation would be complete without a glance at the purely judicial laws which have been passed since the rebellion—the Penal Code, the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes with their many modifications, the Acts concerning the Procedure of the several High Courts and Strait's Settlement Courts, and those chapters of substantive civil law which have either become law, or are being matured.

First in point of time, and also of excellence, is the Penal Code. The fruit of thirty years of interpellation, the work of masterly minds, it has stood the test of nine years of experiment, and has stood it right well. No important amendment or change has been engrafted on it except the Whipping Act, which was forced on the Legislature by political as well as by fiscal necessity. The corporal chastisement permitted by it is of the mildest description consistent with the dignity of a magisterial sentence, and its operation is unquestionably beneficial in delivering the young from the taint of prison life, and all society from the support of a mass of able-bodied, non-effective members.

The Procedure Code has had difficulties to contend with, due to the Non-regulation system. It was quickly discovered that in provinces governed on that system its result would be to paralyse the Executive body, to whom is there committed the judicial administration. So the Government passed Act XV of 1862, which gave power to Magistrates in such provinces specially authorized by Government, to try any offences not punishable with death, and to pass sentences not exceeding seven years' imprisonment. Other defects were in course of time found in the Code, which led to an effort to enact a new Code, repealing the old one, and consolidating the several amending Acts. This having been prevented by the obstructive jealousy of the Indian Law Commissioners, whose bureau is in London, the best that could be done was to repeal all the amending Acts, and in lieu of them to issue one new amending Act, which goes by the name of Act VIII of 1869.

The Civil Procedure Code, which is numbered Act VIII of 1859, led to a material improvement upon the practice of the Courts. It was much indebted to the simple and inartificial procedure which had redeemed Punjab Courts from the obloquy into which the Civil Courts of the older provinces had fallen. And because it was so similar to that procedure, one Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab throughout his reign resisted its introduction into the territories under his control. But in due time the inherent excellences of the Code, and the necessities of more strict procedure

which followed in the wake of the supersession of the Non-regulation Higher and Appellate Court (that of the Judicial Commissioner) by the Chief Court, compelled the Executive to yield to the Legislature, and Act VIII now regulates the civil procedure of the whole empire, we believe, subject of course to the patching which, in common with all late efforts of our luckless local Legislature, it received from Act XXII of 1861 and the successive Stamp Acts.

The establishment of Small Cause Courts by an enactment of 1861 (of course modified by another four years afterwards) was another step in the right direction: *viz.*, that of giving cheap and speedy justice in cases where pleaders find it of small profit to interfere, and where simple matters of fact are tried and decided by simple rules of law. It is true that at first some Courts of this kind obtained the rich name of Cholera Courts from the rapidity and severity of their action, but on the whole their popularity proves the need for them; and there is no inherent necessity for their becoming too easy towards plaintiffs, as it is said that they sometimes are. We would advocate, however, the introduction of a system of periodical visitation of such Courts by one of the Judges of the High Court. Unless such visitation be practised, and unless the chief judiciary body make free use of the power of transferring from time to time the ministerial officers of such Courts, they are certainly apt to become nests for systematic oppression, as cliques of underlings form, and the fact is not brought to light owing to the freedom from revision in appeal which the cases of such Courts enjoy.

It is commonly understood that the present Legal Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council has under preparation a large scheme for the amendment of our Courts, and that one prominent feature of the amendment is a curtailment of the license of appeal. With proper checks against carelessness in the Courts of first instance, a circumscription of this power of appeal would be of great advantage, as the practice of Small Cause Courts has shown. Till the details of the scheme are published, however, it would be premature to attempt discussion.

Some more Acts have been passed which give power to the Deputy Commissioners of districts, in provinces not under the general Regulations, to distribute judicial work amongst the Courts subordinate to them, and to define more precisely the functions and authority of these general officials. These Acts were called for by the urgent need for the use of such discretion. In some districts of the Punjab, the Non-regulation principle has completely succumbed, and the Executive Officers are so burdened with judicial business, that one or other set of their duties falls into abeyance. Comment upon this state of

things is unnecessary. It is universally admitted, and expedients must shortly be put in practice for relieving it.

This short survey of a very wide subject, has been of necessity a sketchy and meagre one. All we have attempted to do has been to investigate the leading principles, not the details, of some of the more important enactments of the period, to enquire how far those principles have chimed in with the unalterable, or at least unaltered, state of native society in India, and how far their want of harmony jeopardizes the prosperity of the empire. The late Law Member of Council gave us, not long ago, an eloquent vindication of himself against the imputation of over-industry in law-making. That manifesto was an admirable piece of special pleading ; but had it been followed by acting on its theories, it would have been entitled to more weight than events have given it. Since it was propounded to the world, we have had the Weights and Measures Act, which is of all recent legislative enactments the most universally irritating and meddlesome. We have only been saved from a law for the appropriation of land by the State, and from another equally unwise piece of legislation in the proposed Canal Act, by the indignant clamour of a free Press, and we must therefore conclude that Mr. Maine's disclaimer of over-legislation was not the voice of the Government, but the avowal of his own opinions. We mistrust its weight now. We fear a continuance in the same way. It is this which has induced us to speak. We plead the cause of the silent ; we speak for those whose ignorance, whose helplessness forbids them to speak for themselves : we intreat Lord Mayo and his Council to pause in their headlong career, and if they see no port into which they can steer their ship of State, at least to lie to. It is old advice : it was given to Cæsar Augustus, and it is not inapt now—

O navis, referent in mare to novi

Fluctus ! O quid agis ? * *

* * Tu, nisi ventis

Debes ludibrium, cave !

ART. II.—THE FUTURE COINAGE OF INDIA.

1.—*Report of the Royal Commission on International Coinage.* London. 1868.

2.—*Gazette of India, Part V.* Simla, 23rd July 1870.

THE introduction into the Legislative Council of a Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Coinage and the Mint, presents an opportunity of considering the question above proposed. We do not suppose that the Government mean to pass this Bill as it stands, for it is in fact little but a consolidation of the present laws, together with an enactment of the rules now in force for receiving sovereigns and gold pieces. The new portion is the provision for defacing light-weight and obsolete coins ; and it can hardly be necessary to hurry through the Council a Bill which cannot but affect commercial transactions seriously, and which should be very carefully considered in its details.

We purpose to deal somewhat elementarily with the subject, because, in fact, few persons in India have clear ideas as to currency ; and we will beg the forbearance of those of our readers who are better informed, while we attempt to deduce, from elementary notions, a system of coinage which shall suit the present and probable future wants of India ; and first we will ask the reader to endeavour to divest himself of any notion, such as our familiarity with gold and silver as coin creates, that they are endued with any mysterious exemption from those fluctuations in value which affect all other commodities.

When the inconveniences of barter were felt, we may suppose a search made for a system which should allow of a freer traffic. The inconveniences of barter would be felt to be, 1st—That the articles to be exchanged would frequently not admit of division ; 2nd—That it might not be easy at once to meet any one wanting such as were offered ; and 3rd—That these would very frequently be perishable. Corn of any sort would fairly meet all these difficulties as a medium of exchange ; but it would soon be found that portability, accompanied by non-liability to consumption, would create a factitious demand, which would more than compensate for the general utility of such an article as corn ; and this would lead to the use of the metals as the principal medium of exchange. By some such unconscious process (for we by no means intend to assert that there was ever any actual deliberate selection) the metals which are in use in various parts of the world for money, have been accepted as media. Silver and gold owed probably their general selection to their beauty. This, indeed, they share with precious

stones ; but the latter are not divisible, and consequently have never served in any sense as money. Originally, metals seem to have been paid by weight—a proceeding which is not yet entirely out of use in the world ; but the use of coins, that is, pieces of metal whose weight and purity are guaranteed by the mark of some responsible person or body of persons, was a great simplification, and has met with general favour. The privilege of so marking metal, or coining, became of course highly valued, and soon was absorbed into the hands of governing bodies and their grantees.

Here we must consider, what is *Value*. Value, then, in the earliest sense, means the amount of labour stored up, so to speak, in an object ; and the relative value of two things means, in a rough way, the relative amount of labour necessary to obtain them. If then, the labour stored up in either be taken as a unit, that in the other, as measured in terms of it, might vary ; and it would of course be as correct to speak of a pound of gold being worth so many quarters of corn, as in the usual way. If the amount of labour expended on an article vary at different times, then its value will vary ; and this is one principal source of the variation of value in the necessities of life, and the primary cause of all variation of values. That which is most uniform in the call for labour to produce it, would, other things being the same, be the best measure of value ; and the uniformity of the abstract value of metals in this sense points to them as good measures of value.

When, however, we come to make exchanges, we arrive at another condition for producing value. In the case of every substance, and especially in the case of one which is perishable, rare, or brought from far, it may happen that there is not enough of it in one place to satisfy all who want it. There is thus a *demand* for it, and unless this is met by a corresponding *supply*, people will be willing to give more of the measure of value in order to secure themselves a full share. Ordinarily this is the most fertile source of variation of value, and it affects all things. If the supply is insufficient for the demand the price rises, and the article is dear ; if it be excessive on the other hand, those holding are anxious to be relieved of their stock and reduce their prices, and the article becomes cheap.

We have now data enough to enable us to select a material for a principal coin. As it must be indestructible, we come to the precious metals, so called from their possessing this quality in a high degree. Of these, platinum, gold, and silver, have alone for long been used as materials. Platinum was tried by the Russians, but has, it is understood, been abandoned, as it was found that the available quantity was so small that its value varied with every change in the supply, and it is also so soft and difficult

to work as to render it unfit for this purpose. We are thus left with gold and silver alone.

Silver is the actual standard material of India ; it was so universally, and it is still so of Holland and several other European countries. *Gold* has since 1868 been the sole standard of England, and it is virtually so now of the Continental Monetary Convention, and of the United States ; but these countries have only lately made the change to it. Most, if not all countries, have coins of more than one metal. The amount of metal in a coin being definite, it follows that small payments can only be made in pieces of a valuable metal so small as to be inconvenient. It would be quite impossible, for instance, to pay a penny in gold, as this would involve coins weighing only half a grain. Cheaper metals are therefore used for coins of small value. So, too, where silver is the standard, it is convenient to have coin of the more valuable gold, because it is easier to carry and store, and easier to reckon, from large sums being in few coins.

The coins of any Government are usually made by law *legal tender* in the countries under it—that is to say, a creditor is compelled to accept payment in them, either without limit, or for certain limited amounts ; thus, in England, silver is legal tender up to forty shillings ; beyond that amount the creditor can claim to be paid in gold in full.

Any metal in which debts can be liquidated without limit becomes a *standard of value*. Some nations have two standards of value, that is, both gold and silver ; but for reasons we shall give, the use of one only seems preferable. When one metal alone is the standard of value, others become subordinate to it entirely. As regards the standard metal, all coins down to the lowest in it, must contain quantities of it proportionate to their intended values ; thus, two half sovereigns must have precisely the same weight of gold in them as one sovereign. As regards the subordinate metals, however, this is not necessary : as no one can be forced to accept payment in them, except of small amounts, the coins in themselves serve rather as promises to pay than as money. These metals can be treated in two ways ; they can either be left free to pass as bullion, the mint mark certifying the weight of pure metal each contains ; or some definite relations between the value of the metals can be laid down by law. The former method could only be applied to the case where the less valuable metal is the standard. When the law lays down a relation of the value of two metals, it may create one or both standards.

It will, we think, now be possible to explain the relations of coinages more clearly by facts than by abstract statements, and we will begin by describing generally, with comments, the history of our English coinage as the most familiar.

The English medium of exchange was silver in the Saxon time, and this was continued by William the Conqueror. The unit was the Saxon pound weight of standard silver.* It was divided into 20 shillings of equal weight, or 240 pence also equal *inter se*. The penny was also called a starling or sterling, from a cross deeply marked on it, by means of which it could be broken into two or four parts, called half pennies, and fourthings or farthings. The penny was the unit coin; there were silver half-pence and farthings, and a coin of four-pence called a groat or great: the shilling as an actual coin, came later. Till the true use of coin was understood, Governments fancied that by increasing the number of coins of a certain name produced from a given weight of metal, they increased wealth; and for this reason, as also because when calling in old coin, and issuing in lieu lighter or debased coin at the same value, they greatly profited themselves, alterations in the weights of coin were frequent. In England, from these causes the number of shillings coined from the pound of silver was varied; till, from 20 in the moneyer's or sterling pound (the moneyer's pound was $\frac{1}{16}$ of the troy pound) it had risen in the reign of Charles II to 62 in the pound troy; though 20 shillings were still known as a pound sterling (of sterlings) without reference to weight.†

Gold was introduced into England as a subordinate metal for coins by Henry III; the coin passed for 20 pence, and weighed as much as two silver pence; it is said that this coin was made against the wishes of the merchants of London, and from necessity. After many changes Charles II coined guineas, of which 44½ were taken out of one pound of standard gold containing $\frac{1}{16}$ ths of the pure metal. If our explanation of value has been understood, it will have been perceived, that though it may be possible for Government to ascertain the relative values of two metals, and adjust their coins at any one time, it is quite impossible for them to *control* the relative values, which are independent of law; just as impossible, in fact, as to order that two and two should make three. Instances of this will be seen; but by the time of which we speak it began to be felt. The fluctuations of relative value were greater in those days of imperfect communication

* Both silver and gold when pure are too soft for use as coins. It has always been the custom to harden them with some baser metal, the proportional amount of which is laid down by law. So alloyed, they are distinguished as of "standard fineness," or "standard silver" and gold. The fineness is a fraction whose numerator is the weight of pure metal, and denominator the whole weight of a

coin; it is also expressed by a number showing how many parts of pure metal there are in 1,000 of the alloy, and this is becoming universal. The old English way is now only used by silversmiths, and we must refer our readers elsewhere for it.

† There were also changes of "fineness" in the standard of silver which we have not noted, as not affecting the explanation.

than now ; and, silver being the standard, the guinea fluctuated between twenty and thirty shillings in price ; so that in 1717, the Government attempted to fix the value of the guinea at 21 shillings. However, this did not mend the matter ; fluctuations still continued, but the effect was different. When gold was cheap, it of course would go to the Mint for coinage, and debtors would select it for payment, silver being melted down and sent to France and other places where it was the sole standard. When again gold became dear, it was converted into bullion, and debts were in preference paid in silver. This was found so inconvenient, that in 1816 gold coins were declared the sole legal tender without limit of value, and silver up to forty shillings only. Such a regulation alone, however, would not have completely mended matters. Silver now being no longer a legal tender, when the price of silver rose relatively to gold, so that more than one pound sterling in gold (now represented by the sovereign) could be got for it as bullion, it would have been melted down, and there being no inducement for it to return, silver coin would have vanished to the great inconvenience of the country. The same law which made gold the legal tender, therefore, enacted that 66 instead of 62 shillings should be coined from the pound troy. Silver, *in the form of coin*, thus became invested with a value in England far above its value elsewhere, and its existence as change was secured ; the silver coin was a *token* or *counter* representing more than it could be sold for. From this time the word SHILLING, became endued with two meanings, which we shall endeavour to distinguish. A *shilling* is the twentieth part of a pound sterling, of which the sovereign is the representative ; it may be considered as an imaginary gold coin, which is what one means when one speaks of 50 shillings as the price of an article, and it is the shilling of account. A shilling is the $\frac{1}{20}$ th part of a troy pound of English standard silver ; it represents a *shilling*, and up to 40 shillings, but not further, may by law be paid instead of it. We shall use the italic form of the name in future in the same way in the case of other coins ; thus, a *penny* is $\frac{1}{240}$ th of a pound sterling, or $\frac{1}{12}$ th of a *shilling* ; but a penny is a piece of bronze, which has lately been substituted for a piece of copper weighing half an ounce avoirdupois. It will be seen, that when taken out of Great Britain, a shilling ceases to have any connection with the *shilling* ; were it otherwise, as has been explained, the shilling would soon vanish from circulation.

That is the state of English coinage : now we will look at the case of France. The old coinage of France was silver, the unit being the livre, or pound, of one sort or another. The French Kings, less hampered than the English by the wishes of their subjects, less hampered more with the coin ; as did also the semi-independent

nobles, who at one time exercised the rights of coining in common with them. Thus the livre as a coin fell, till at the epoch of the Revolution its value was reduced to 99 centimes of the present currency or about ten pence. It is only worth examining the history of French coinage since then, and it is instructive to us.

By a law of the 18th Germinal An. III (7th April 1795) the franc was substituted for the livre till then in use; it was to be a coin of an alloy of silver, containing $\frac{1}{10}$ of the pure metal, and weighing 5 grammes (77.1617437 grains). This, intimately, and as it was thought indissolubly, connected with the metrical system has ever since been the *franc* in theory. In the year IX of the Republic, M. Gaudin in a report says: "Henceforth neither plenty nor scarcity can change the weight, the fineness, or the value of a franc: it will be as invariable as the weight of 5 grammes of silver $\frac{1}{10}$ fine; it will be the weight itself, and whoever may have but 200 francs can only be reimbursed by one killogramme of silver which will always be worth 200 francs." The want of gold coin seems however soon to have been felt; in the year XI of the Republic, a law was passed, prescribing the weights of gold coins to correspond to 20 and 40 francs, on the supposition that gold was $15\frac{1}{2}$ times as valuable as silver. It seems to have been thought that the double standard would equalize value; * and this law of 1803 (An. XI) does not declare either gold or silver or both to be especially a tender without limit; it prescribes that each piece shall have its value in francs impressed on it. Virtually then, as after 1717 in England, there should have been an optional legal tender; but as the option lies with the payer, it came about that the relative value of gold having been fixed too low, the coins of that metal became at premium. The payer *always* offered to pay in silver, and gold could only be got by a reduction of the claim, thus putting gold really, though not nominally, in the same position as if the coin had been sold as bullion. This state of things lasted till about 1850, when the great influx of gold from California and Australia set in, and reduced the relative value of gold to silver.

* M de Parieu, in reporting the sentiments of the majority of a commission appointed to study the question of a monetary standard in 1867, compares the use of two standards to the use of two metals in a compensated pendulum. It is a singularly unfortunate comparison, for if a pendulum had steel and brass rods *performing the same functions*, it might, it is true, have the bob hanging sometimes by one and sometimes by the

other, but it would never serve as a regulator; any country clock-maker knows that the arrangement would not answer. When Robert Stephenson employed wrought and cast iron in one bridge, the case was more like. The wrought metal failed; when wanted, the bridge fell; and so too the double standard of France was but a name long before M de Parieu's Report.

From this time, debtors paid gold; silver was melted up and exported, "it disappeared almost entirely from the metallic circulation, and yielded to gold." An attempt was made to check this by putting a duty on the export of silver; but it failed, and the five-franc pieces of silver were replaced by gold. This, however, was as small a gold coin as could be conveniently put in circulation; and the inconvenience to trade from the absence of all change in silver becoming very serious, France reduced the fineness of silver coins, from the franc down, from $\frac{9}{10}$ to $\frac{833}{1000}$. The *franc* and its fractions no longer exist as coins. The silver standard has ceased to exist save in name, and gold has virtually taken its place. M. Gaudin's high-sounding prediction has been contradicted, and the simple connection between the *franc* and the metric system has vanished. The franc is now indeed five grammes of silver, but of a lower quality than $\frac{8}{9}$ ths; and the *franc* is 0.325806 grammes (5.027961 grains) of gold alloy, containing 0.2932254 grams of the pure metal. There is a five-franc silver coin of the theoretical weight and fineness, but it is of course little seen.

In the United States in 1792 there was adopted, as representative of the *dollar* or unit of account, a silver coin weighing 416 grains and containing $\frac{1417}{1470}$ of pure silver. Gold coins were also authorized founded on the eagle weighing 270 grains, $\frac{1}{4}$ or 247.5 grains being pure gold, which was to be equal to 10 *dollars*. In 1836, the eagle was reduced in weight to 258 grains of a fresh standard, of which 232 grains were to be pure gold, which is still the standard weight. In 1849, when the influx of gold began to be felt, a double eagle of 20 *dollars* and a *dollar* in gold were coined; and in 1853, a half *dollar* containing 192 grains, and smaller silver coins whose nominal value was to be greater than the intrinsic value, were ordered to be coined: such silver coins were to be legal tender only for sums not exceeding 5 *dollars*.

In thus noting the history of coinage in the three great countries which produce it, we would point out that not only has each passed from a silver to a gold standard, but each has tried a double standard, and in each case it has failed. In England and America it has been positively abolished. In France it has been so virtually by making the nominal value of silver coin greater than its intrinsic value at the market price of silver. In all the states which have entered into the Monetary Convention with France, the state of things is as in France now.

The silver has been forced out by a fall in the relative value of gold in the last two cases, and the change of standard has not been forced on England because gold was already the standard. There are States in Europe where the procedure has been different: to save their silver, gold has been demonetized; but this can only be conveniently done in a community where the business is compara-

tively small, and which has not great dealings with countries where gold is the standard. It seems probable that gold, in some form, will be soon the standard throughout Europe.

We have seen that where there was the double standard, silver has been forced out, and that in America and some European countries gold has been substituted as a standard for silver. In all these cases silver has been retained in circulation, by having affixed to it as coin a higher value than as bullion. Had silver been made the sole standard, and gold been made subordinate, gold would have become useless in the country so treating it. Of course it would have been abundantly procurable; but the coins could not be exported—they could only have been made internally useful by the expedient of rating them above the market value of gold, and then no one would have cared to retain what he would always have trouble in parting with.

It seems, therefore, that gold and silver can only permanently co-exist in circulation in a country where the more valuable metal is the standard, and the less valuable is so exalted in value (appreciated) that it becomes a mere token. If, then, in India gold is to be constantly in free circulation, it is by making gold the standard. This is not what the Bill, whose title we have quoted, proposes. Making silver the legal tender, it attempts to introduce gold into this country by providing for gold coinage at a fixed ratio between gold and silver, and enacting that gold coinage shall always be received into the treasuries and paid away from them at a fixed value. If gold were lower than this value, it would be safe for any person to buy largely as a speculation, as, under no circumstances, could he lose by selling to the Mint; he would be certain of a profit, and he might have a larger one in the market. Gold, in such a case, would indeed be attracted to India, but not to stay. If even the treasuries were glutted with it, no one would take it unless they could get at least the value at which it was issued, and Government might be unable to pay salaries while possessing large daily increasing sums in coin. It must either be exported for sale or sold on the spot at a loss for bullion; otherwise Government would have to do what France and America did—make it legal tender. If it be said that such a decrease in the value of gold, as measured by silver, is improbable, then the provision must remain null: Government can no way induce people to supply them with gold at a loss. But in fact it is not improbable, and twice since the gold discoveries has this false policy caused inconvenience and loss.

What, then, is the real practical objection to making gold the standard, and silver the subordinate, unit? If the sovereign were made a legal tender, and were declared equivalent to ten rupees, it might be declared that silver should not be a legal

tender for more than Rs. 1,000 or any other sum, to be gradually reduced as gold became plentiful. What would be the result of this proceeding? Gold would necessarily come into the country. It would be paid to Government and issued by them. To Europeans and foreign merchants it would be a great boon. In inland traffic it would have no effect if there were a sufficiency of silver tokens, except that all imports from countries where gold is the standard would be somewhat reduced in price. To all men with fixed incomes the change would be a virtual increase of them, because the facilities for cash payments would be greatly increased; those who are connected with Europe would gain by better and more regular exchanges, by which, indeed, Government would be the greatest gainer. When the silver coinage of France was lowered in standard, every man, through whose hands it passed, received less than before of the precious metal. In purchasing power law made it internally as before, but on crossing the frontier it was of less value. That would not be so in this case. The silver coinage is unaffected except that in certain articles paid for to foreign countries in gold, its purchasing powers would be increased.

Where, then, would the loss lie? Where one gains, some one must lose, which will be Government who supply the coin? That, however, is not always so, nor to the full extent. Where labour is saved and processes are simplified, the value of this labour and time go to cover any loss, and may indeed make it a gain; and in this case the dealings with the countries which have a gold standard would be greatly simplified. A Conference was held at Paris in 1867 to consider this subject, in which the United States and nearly all European nations were represented. The members of the Conference, after discussion, decided unanimously against a silver standard and for a gold standard, allowing States requiring it time to make the change, except that Holland objected to the latter proposition, from a notion that the wording of the resolution would force a change without consulting the convenience of each State. In this recommendation a Royal Commission, to whom the report was referred, agreed, though in the further suggestions for assimilation of coins they differed from the Conference. In the United States, in consequence of the International Conference, two Bills were introduced into the Senate—one for so altering their gold coinage that 5 dollars should be exactly 25 francs, as recommended, and the other for making 5 dollars equal to one pound sterling, or the sovereign. On these Senator Sherman reported, and the following extract from his report will confirm the view we have taken: "For local purposes it is not very material which metal is the standard, nor of what weight and fineness the standard may be, if only it be of fixed and invariable value," "for the value of property and all internal commerce adapts

"itself to the intrinsic value of the gold and silver of the prescribed standard. The inconvenience of different standards of value arises mainly, in foreign commerce, in the exchange of commodities among nations. The same reasons for adopting an international standard now exist as induced the American colonies, less than one hundred years ago, to abandon their diversified standards of value, and adopt, as a common unit, the American dollar. Every advance towards a free exchange of communities is an advance in civilization; every obstruction to a free exchange is born of the same narrow despotic spirit which planted castles on the Rhine to plunder peaceful commerce; every obstruction to commerce is a tax upon consumption; every facility to a free exchange cheapens commodities, increases trade and production, and promotes civilization." We have already adopted the metrical system of weight and measure to facilitate commerce, and we should now adopt the gold standard in use in all countries with which we have commerce, except at present China, where, however, it was stated, prematurely we believe, that measures were in progress for a gold decimal coinage on the basis of the franc.

That the existence of a diversity of standard does create a confusion in exchange, is seen by the constant complaint about the badness of exchange in India. A rupee contains 165 grains of pure silver, and a shilling contains by law 80 72729 grains; hence a rupee should be equal, at par, to 2·0439 shillings. When, however, a remittance is made, of say a thousand rupees, the remitter expects, and the payee is bound to give, gold. The unit of exchange is not therefore the shilling, but what we have before called the *shilling*. Now, the relation between these two is dependent on the market price of silver in England which made the shilling vary from 0·91989 to 0·9457 *shillings* during the years 1856 to 1865. Hence, from this cause alone, the par value of the rupee would have varied from 1 *shilling* 10½ *pence* to 1 *shilling* 11½ *pence*, with a mean value of 1·*shilling* 10½ *pence*.* Such a variation is full a third of the variations of exchange with England, and the change of standard would remove this, of which the effect on prices is considerable.

Of course, by issuing the ten rupees coin, proposed in the Draft Act, and making it a legal tender, Government would have no present loss; but every fall in the price of gold would take silver out of circulation, and, in a country where small payments are so numerous, this would be disastrous. If the value of the rupee were

* A rupee by law weighs 180 grains, into 66 shillings, and the price of silver in the period referred to varied from 60½*d.* to 62½*d.* per ounce with a mean value of 61½*d.* and contains 1/12th of alloy. In England the pound troy, 5,760 grains containing 432 grains of alloy, is coined

changed, a new coinage would be suddenly called for, and prices would be deranged till the two kinds of rupee had ceased to co-exist ; at all events, the loss to the people would be similar to that inflicted by the school of financiers who reduced the value of the shilling in England and livre in France to meet the embarrassments of the State. The rupee must then stay, and must become a token—that is, the *rupee* must be more valuable than the rupee, and it must be quite impossible, under any conceivable circumstances, to purchase the gold coins for their nominal value in silver.

There are three ways in which this may be done. We may, as has been suggested before, make a sovereign equal to 10 *rupees* ; or we may adopt in its place the coin suggested for England by the International Conference, that is, a piece of 25 *francs* ; or we may adopt a new coin of our own. Setting the last method out of the question as unadvisable on the face of it, we have to choose between the two former. The first would put us at once in harmony with England, and the second with nearly the whole continent, and we believe that Europe will soon have but one system of coinage.

We have already adopted the metrical system of weights and measures to assimilate those of India with the most easily managed and most universally understood set in the world. We conceive, then, that, whatever the unit coin we may take, we must subdivide it decimally. If it were any way certain that England would adopt the 25 franc unit, we should consider the question settled. It is believed that the United States and Canada are prepared to adopt the same course in the matter as England ; and we think that England will not change her pound sterling. An enormous amount of the trade of the world is in English hands, and the English pound sterling is, perhaps, the most universally known of measures of value in its representative the sovereign, which is current in every colony and also in Portugal, Brazil and Egypt. As the Director of the United States Mint says, "The pound is everywhere familiar ; it regulates the exchange of the world." The continent will, we think, end by adopting the sovereign as unit or a coin containing the same amount of gold. England, however, coins free of charge. 'The English Mint takes gold, the raw material, and returns the full weight in sovereigns, which no other country in the world does : even her gold-producing colony Australia does not do this. If we adopt the English practice, then, we must submit to lose a sum which will, we believe, go far to pay all that Government will lose, in the first instance, in introducing the gold coinage ; for the Draft Act proposes to continue the one per cent. seignorage now charged in India, and it is quite possible to do this, as it is the practice in Australia. The result

would be that it would be better worth while to send coin from England than gold.

The Mint in England coins 1,800 sovereigns out of 40 pounds troy of gold, containing $\frac{1}{16}$ th of alloy. Hence each sovereign weighs 123·2745 grains, or 7·988058 grams, and the same weight and fineness should be used in India. The subsidiary coins should be the half sovereign of 5 rupees and a coin of two rupees, which will be the changed dollar, if the United States take the pound sterling as unit, and will be small enough for making the use of gold common.

The unchanged rupee will weigh 180 grains (11·66381 grams) and contain $\frac{1}{16}$ th of alloy. We have before said that it equals 2·0439 shillings, thus being within 2 per cent. of the florin whose place it should take here, making the *rupee* $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the pound sterling. The subordinate coins of silver should represent five two and one-tenths respectively of the *rupee*, weighing 5·831905 grams, 2·332762 grams and 1·166381 grams respectively; and these last might, perhaps, be advantageously made of a lower standard to facilitate coining.

The small coins should be of bronze, and should represent $\frac{1}{100}$, $\frac{1}{50}$, and $\frac{1}{20}$ th of a *rupee*, at the rate of two grams for each hundredth of a rupee. This would enable them to be used as postage weights, or in testing weights roughly, if any one should think such a process desirable. Possibly, a smaller coin weighing 1 gram, and representing $\frac{1}{20}$ th of a *rupee* may be a desirable addition.

It will be seen that, in this proposition, we have entirely abandoned the connection established between the standard coin of France and the unit of metrical weight. As we have said, it no longer is in fact retained in the country where it arose. The *franc* is now an imaginary gold coin, the franc a silver representative of lower standard than the theoretical unit which could only be coined to disappear.

In making this change, we would propose that the rupee should be declared at first only legal tender up to some large sum, such as a thousand *rupees*. Gold would thus, at first, only be required in small quantities. Large payments would be made in notes and gold (equally legal tender), the former being exchangeable at the Offices of Currency Circles only as now. As the amount of gold increased, the sum for which silver should be a legal tender should decrease till it arrived at about 20 *rupees*. If it were found the silver coinage in the mean time had a tendency to decrease, the standard might then be debased or the weight lowered to exact accordance with the practice in England and her Australian colonies. We think the practice of accepting an unlimited amount of silver at the Mint should be abolished. Silver bullion and old coin should be bought, as in England, with gold or notes, and the profit on coinage would

be the seignorage. There is no prospect of any immediate change resulting in the practice of the Mint : silver will probably for some years be coined in as large quantities as it can be procured for change ; but unless the seignorage be thus largely increased, gold will not be supplied in sufficient quantity. The importation of gold too, from countries where it is cheap, would be greatly encouraged by the knowledge that it, and it alone, can be converted into coin at all times.

We will quote, in conclusion, from Mr. Bagehot's evidence before the Royal Commission on International Coinage :—"I think there is "no money in the world now which answers the requirements "of economical theory, or is what experience has shown to be "desirable. I hold that there are three conditions which should "be satisfied for a real proper currency : First, that it should "be based on a high gold unit ; next, that it should have a decimal "division ; and next, that it should not be based on a double standard, "but should use silver and copper merely as subsidiary coins, "not of intrinsic value but artificial value. None of the "moneys of the world exactly answer to those conditions at "present." Such a coinage, in harmony with the metrical system of weights and measures, we have endeavoured to sketch. Providing for the commercial wants of our great centres of trade, it does not, we trust, neglect the interests of the large population to whom a rupee is a large matter. With the decimally-divided weights and measures which, we hope, Government will soon begin to enforce, and such a coinage, India will be ahead of any country in the world for the facilities for trade.

ART III.—WOMAN.

WE know what the critics will say when they read the above title. We can see them with our mind's eye, their pens uplifted, and before they have read so much as a single line, prepared to dash off that well-known sentence :—"The main object and purpose of the *Calcutta Review* should be the discussion of Indian topics. On this ground, it might easily acquire a supremacy, whereas"—Every one will guess the disastrous fall which overtakes the *Calcutta Review* after that fatal "whereas." It is not without reluctance that we ask the critics to pause. In this country, the work of journalism must be somewhat similar to raising a crop of wheat in the centre of the great desert, and we would not, therefore, stand between an Editor and a ready-made paragraph of indefinite length without good reason. We think we have such at present, and entreat the critics to give us five minutes' indulgence, while we justify our apparent temerity. The *Calcutta Review* is not unfrequently stigmatised as heavy. It is highly instructive—that every one allows—but decidedly weighty. We acknowledge the justice of this reproach. We have ourselves, more than once, run our eye over the Contents with a feeling akin to awe. It must require a determined man of great virtue to read in succession—say, first, an article on the cultivation of the chinchona plant—then one on the spread of vernacular education in Bengal—then a third on the best mode of organizing a mofussil police—then some considerations suggested by the revenue returns of the Government of India during the past twenty years—then a comparison of the criminal statistics of the three Presidencies—and finally, as a *bonne bouche* to conclude with, a highly erudite discussion on one of the non-Aryan languages. Who, indeed, is equal to such things, except it be one of Mr. Laing's "able Indian administrators," dwelling like John the Baptist in some desert place of a catcherry, and consuming his locusts and wild honey in the form of blue books and tabulated statements?

But, admitting this, we think we have some cause for complaint against those critics who would confine us to these dismal regions. They grumble at the chinchona plant, and similar exciting subjects, but if the *Calcutta Review*, stimulated by their complaints, manifests some consciousness of a world beyond, they are down upon it at once. "No, no, none of this," is heard from every side; "we are not going to permit you to trespass. Your business is to write about the chinchona plant, and the mofussil police, and you will be pleased to confine yourself to those topics, or we will know the reason why."

Trammelled by these hard conditions, we cast a disconsolate gaze over that almost boundless field wherein the European Reviewer dwells in ease and affluence. "Water, water, everywhere, and not a drop to drink." We felt like the Peri standing at the gate of Paradise and listening to the springs of life that flowed within. We could not write about the chinchona plant, or the mofussil police. We had never so much as read a blue book, and had the dimmest notion of a tabulated statement. But we were pledged to furnish the Editor (a man of stern temper, and quite terrible if roused) with a certain quantity of written matter before a specified date. Our eye brightened as we thought of the woman's question. It appeared the very thing. No one could say the ladies were a matter of European interest only; and if they did not impart those elements of grace and interest, which are at present said to be absent from the *Calcutta Review*, nothing could. If the attempt failed with such a theme to inspire us, we could thenceforth accept our fate with resignation, if not with cheerfulness. Believing ourselves predestined for these things, we should criticise legislation, cultivate the chinchona plant, and organise the Police, without useless cravings after better things. But more than this. If our convictions on the ultimate consequences of the present agitation (supposing it to be successful) are sound, no community will be more strongly affected than the little section of Europeans in this country. The ladies, under favourable conditions, might accomplish a radical change in the tone of society, in our relations with each other, and with the people of the country. So, from every point of view, the subject we have chosen appeared to us singularly well adapted for discussion in the *Calcutta Review*, and these several assertions we hope to justify as we proceed.

The woman's question, generally speaking, is an agitation to emancipate her from all those legal and social restrictions which men have imposed upon her, under the impression that they were thereby doing God good service. Numerous objections are urged against it, and we will discuss these first, in no particular order, but as they chance to occur to us.

The first which occurs to us, and certainly the greatest objection, is that there is nothing to disquiss. The larger number of women, it is often urged, are content with things as they are. It is only a few who are old, ugly, disagreeable, desperate of marriage, that are concerned in the agitation. This statement, as a statement, is partly true and partly false; as an argument it seems to us to have no worth. It is no reason, either for or against a matter in dispute, to say your adversary is old, ugly, or disagreeable, although, from the abundant use of these and similar personalities, whenever any matter is in dispute, most people appear to think otherwise. But

in the present case, it happens also to be untrue, as the writer can vouch from his own personal experience. It is true that the majority of women hold aloof—but it is absurd to bring this forward as an argument decisive of the merits of the question, or even as establishing a *primâ facie* presumption against it. Every change must be begun by some one; and until it is actually effected, its advocates must be in a minority. The Reformation—the Abolition of Slavery—the Emancipation of the Catholics—the Repeal of the Corn Laws—nay even Christianity itself—were opposed by overwhelming majorities. Nothing, indeed, could so much as come into existence, if this numerical argument were sufficient to crush it. Heads must be weighed, not simply counted, in attempting to estimate the value of any stir on the surface of society. When men like Mill, Herbert Spencer, Kingsley, Maurice—when the most intellectual women in a country are agreed that some change is needed in the status of women—most people would be induced to think they had some reason for their assertions, although a majority was opposed to them. To admit this commits no one to the emancipation of women. It merely gives an opening for discussion to begin.

The objection which, after this, is perhaps most frequently urged is the *argumentum ad hominem*. When the *laudator temporis acti* knows you to be an advocate for the emancipation of women, he generally rushes to the conclusion that you desire their immediate admission to the highest posts in the Army and Navy, the Police Force, Courts of Justice, and general administration of the empire. He assails you in consequence with the *argumentum ad hominem*. “Would you like to see your wife Commander-in-Chief of India, a Police Constable, Surgeon, Lawyer, or Physician?” If you weakly respond that you do not desire any of these dignities to descend upon your partner, he walks off chuckling in great triumph, and believes himself to have settled the whole question. If, on the other hand, you reply that your personal tastes cannot affect the general question, he regards this as an evasion which would be irritating, but for its obvious insufficiency, and decrees to himself forthwith the honours of a triumph, as before. Now, should any of our readers be in the habit of fighting with either or both of these weapons, we would ask them to consider the following remarks:—Every single murderer objects to be hanged, but this does not show that hanging ought to be done away with. This or that man objects to marry a girl with red hair, but this does not sanction the eradication from the universe of every girl whose hair is red. Brown, Jones and Robinson may dislike the thought of marrying female lawyers or physicians, but this neither proves nor disproves that such people may be of benefit to society at large. There are to a certainty many other things which Brown,

Jones and Robinson disapprove of ; but no one therefore agitates that they should be altered in conformity with their wishes. In like manner here, the question to be solved is, whether on the whole the mental and material condition of women, and, inevitably also, of society in general, will be elevated and improved by their emancipation, and not whether the change will be agreeable to certain individuals.

The next objection which occurs to us, is the customary appeal to the experience of the past. For six thousand years, it is continually urged, women have been subject to men, and this surely is a decisive argument against their liberation from such restraint now. This argument is painfully familiar to every thinker, discoverer, social or political reformer—to every one, in short, who has attempted to set the crooked straight, and make the rough places smooth. The six thousand years or so during which men have lived upon the earth—greatly to the detriment of it, as Carlyle would add—is invariably the first objection brandished in their faces. It is endowed with a beauty like that of Cleopatra, and knows not decay. Age cannot wither it, nor custom stale its infinite variety. We should still be noble savages running wild in woods, had it carried the weight which in public opinion it appears to possess. We have no doubt when the ancient Briton was requested to wear clothes, he repelled the suggestion with precisely this argument. He appealed to the experience of immemorial antiquity in favour of blue paint. He must certainly have declared his profound conviction that the sanctity and purity of domestic life were involved in the use of that colour : very probably, he referred to some “girl of the period” attired in the latest fashion, as a glaring example of the demoralising tendencies of clothes. But this argument, to be of service in the present discussion, must not merely show that women have always been subject to men. This may have arisen from accidental causes. Taken *per se*, it says nothing either for or against the proposed change. It merely tells us that hitherto a certain order of things has prevailed, but whether for good or for evil is the very point which has still to be considered. To be of any use, the experience of six thousand years ought to show, at all times and in all places, a precise and uniform treatment of women, and the disastrous consequences of any attempts at innovation. Unluckily, the experience of six thousand years is exactly contrary to this. In no two countries has the position of women been the same. It has changed and fluctuated from age to age. In the state of barbarism, woman is a mere living chattel, who works while her lord and master idles away his time. In the Roman Republic she was a piece of property legally delivered over to her husband, who could put her to death if he pleased,—a privilege

asserted on several occasions. In Oriental nations she is a sort of felicitous arrangement, provided by Providence to minister to the pleasures of men. She has no function apart from this, and belongs to her owner like a chair or table. Under the influence of Christianity, she rose by slow degrees to a better position. But the notion that she was only a part of a man's goods was a weary while in becoming extinct, and in truth is far from being so at this present time. The Brown, Jones and Robinson argument mentioned above is the modern expression of this notion. All through the Middle Ages the discipline of the stick was freely resorted to; noble and valorous knights did not scruple to break the legs of their wives with hammers, if they saw fit. It has been by very slow steps that women have emerged from this hard bondage. They are still far removed from a complete emancipation. But in all Christian and progressive countries, there has been a steady advance in the direction of liberty. And with every such advance, there has been in women, a proportionate development of beauty and strength of character. This no one will deny who is acquainted with the literature of our own country from the Reformation to the present time. The experience of six thousand years simply testifies that man has generally treated woman in a highly brutal and oppressive manner, and that she has improved in proportion to the degree of justice and freedom accorded to her. It is of course open to any one to say that we have now reached the utmost limit, and any further advance would plunge us into anarchy, but the experience of six thousand years throws no light upon this position one way or the other.

A fourth objection is expressed somewhat in this way: "The proper sphere of women is the domestic. By throwing open other careers to them, you will destroy the domestic charities, withdraw them from the sacred and elevating duties of maternity, and flood the world with what old Knox would have called a 'monstrous regiment of women' trampling upon the necks of the opposite sex, and driving them to seek shelter in obscure nooks and crannies of the earth."

There are so many assumptions in this argument, that it will require some little space to unravel and expose them one by one. We must therefore bespeak the patience of our readers, while we undertake the task.

First we will take the words, "the proper sphere of women is the domestic." This is the simple off-hand fashion in which this proposition is generally laid down; and when thus stated, it is a mere assumption. It may be a correct one—speaking generally, we believe that it is—but mere assertion is not sufficient to show this. Yew trees are frequently cut into triangular shapes, and

any one who was unaware that this was produced artificially might reasonably suppose that the triangular shape was the natural one. It is much the same with women; whatever be their natural sphere, man has rigidly confined them to the domestic, and at least afforded a pretext by so doing for the supposition that it is their sole and exclusive sphere. But just as one yew tree growing as nature ordained would dispel the idea that the triangular shape was its fixed and unalterable form, so is it with women. No one who has read the works of Mrs. Browning, George Eliot, Miss Austen, Mrs. Somerville, and many others—no one who has been delighted and surprised with the paintings of Rosa Bonheur, can be of opinion that these ladies have abandoned their proper sphere of action, that it would have been better for themselves and the world had they given their undivided attention to the management of the house, the excitements of morning calls, and the struggles of croquet. This does not, and is not, intended to show that the principal duties of women are not domestic. But it does show that Heaven has gifted them with powers which extend far beyond the sphere of a single family—with powers which the world must for its own sake give free room to grow and develope, and consequently that any conception of woman's mission, which limits her solely to the home circle, is manifestly a false one.

We now come to the second part of this argument, namely, that if the existing restrictions are removed, every department of life will be inundated by strong-minded women trampling upon their weaker brethren, and utterly ruining the family life. Among the noticeable points in the objections made to the emancipation of women, are the contradictory arguments used in favour of the present state of things. They destroy one another. Thus people say:—"Why make all this fuss? Most women are contented to live as wives and mothers. They have no wish to enter into the battle of life and struggle for power and eminence." This is perfectly true. Under any conceivable state of things, we shall go on as in the days of Noah, marrying and giving in marriage. Under any circumstances, mothers, we may be sure, will devote themselves to their children in preference to other duties. The propensity to fall in love and the maternal affections are not produced by prohibitory laws, and will not be affected by their removal. They are innate elementary portions of our common nature, and will operate as powerfully as ever, though every restriction were removed from women to-morrow. But if these things are so, what folly it is to talk as though every woman was only waiting for an opportunity to abandon husband and children, in search of a noisier arena of action. Do men manifest this irrepressible ambition? Do they require to be chained down by legal

enactments, to hinder them from rushing forth from quiet and comfortable homes into the dust and turmoil of this wearisome life? Does no consciousness of their own incapacity, their indolence, their indifference to notoriety, restrain them? And if one or other of these feelings does continually restrain them—a fact, we suppose, that no one will care to deny—may we not predict the same of women? May we not rest assured that the repeal of certain laws will not revolutionize their character, will not eradicate the deepest feelings which at present distinguish them from men?

There are other obstacles as well. People talk, and newspapers write—notably the *Saturday Review* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*—as though, the restrictions once removed, women would just walk into the House of Commons and declare themselves Members. Another detachment would in the meanwhile march off to the Law Courts, eject with their parasols the Judges and Barristers, and appropriate to themselves the emoluments and the administration of the law. The Horse Guards is to be routed with the same expedition, and the Admiralty also. It is to be remarked that the people who anticipate some such thorough overturning of the present régime by the emancipation of women, are precisely those who affect to believe that her proper sphere is the domestic. Why, holding such convictions, they should anticipate anything of the kind, it is hard to say. Is this opposition to the teaching of nature a common thing in humanity? Do men exhibit it? Are timid men possessed with an insane desire to enter the army, those who can neither speak nor reason to become judges and lawyers; or any one to do precisely the thing for which he is unfitted? We do not, as Mr. Mill says, enact a law that only strong-armed men shall be blacksmiths. We know that none but strong-armed men will be blacksmiths, all others being unfit for the work. All such matters, when men are concerned, we predict with tranquillity, will be satisfactorily settled by the laws of supply and demand, assisted by the ordinary intelligence of human beings. These laws and this intelligence, we may rest assured, will be just as efficacious when the other sex has to be dealt with. No woman can enter Parliament until a constituency thinks fit to elect her; and if any constituency does so think, they are assuredly the best judges of their own wants. No one who objects to marry a female legislator, need be afraid that the demand for Members of Parliament will so impoverish the marriage market, that there will be any difficulty in finding wives of other professions, or of no profession at all. If matters come to the very worst, there can only be six hundred and fifty-eight women drawn off into this channel. In all probability there never will be for a century or two more than one or two, and these, we may be certain, long past an eligible age. All the other

professions are already abundantly stocked. No woman will become a lawyer, barrister, physician or surgeon, without having to fight every inch of her way, and thereby thoroughly approving her fitness for her position. No women even then will obtain practice, unless their services are demanded by the community. Consequently we find ourselves landed on this alternative. Either women can prosper in the professions at present monopolised by men, or they cannot. If they can, the fact will attest beyond the reach of cavil their fitness for those positions and the need for them, and inevitably also, the wisdom of repealing any laws which excluded them. If they cannot, they will follow their present professions of falling in love and getting married, and the removal of the restrictive laws will have cleared away the appearance of injustice, without doing harm to any one.

But, at this point, we should probably be met by the retort :—
 “ You confess then that matters will remain much the same as they are at present, whether these restrictions prevail or not, and the grievance about which so much noise is made turns out to be a ‘ sentimental ’ one after all.” It is generally supposed that when a grievance is pronounced “ sentimental ” it is unworthy the attention of practical men. Perhaps it is so. People who pride themselves on being practical, fall mainly into two divisions : they are either men of business or men of pleasure. The hell of the one, as Carlyle tells us, is “ not to get on ” ; the faith of the other is summed up in the one fact that pleasure is pleasant. Grievances which do not interfere with these aims, are but so much articulated air to them. But, setting aside practical men, a sentimental grievance is the one of all others which cuts most deeply to a man’s heart, and rouses in him the fiercest exasperation. Supposing some huge conquering power severed the British colonies from the mother country, to thousands of Englishmen the injury would be purely sentimental. Their food and drink and other material comforts would not be diminished one iota. But would that paltry fact cause them to feel the disgrace less acutely ? Would not the very sting and torment of it be in this, that it was a sentimental grievance, and as such the pain-fullest of all ?

Who steals my purse, steals trash ; ’tis something, ’nothing ;
 ’Twas mine, ’tis his, and has been slave to thousands ;
 But he that filches from me my good name,
 Robs me of that which not enriches him, •
 And leaves me poor indeed.

What caused France to precipitate herself into a war with Prussia, regardless of the bloodshed and misery which would ensue ? The sentimental grievance involved in the greatness of Prussia. What has made America manifest so persevering and

keen an animosity against England. The sentimental grievance that our sympathies were withheld in the hour of need. And of all sentimental grievances, there is not one so humiliating, so crushing to any greatness of character, as the grievance of dependency. The dependency might exist merely in a name, but it would not be only the less galling for that. We will put an imaginary case by way of illustration. Let us suppose that the Home Government passed an Act declaring that in future, in all public documents, Englishmen resident in the colonies or in the Indian Empire should be denominated "slaves;" no harm should be done to them, no single material advantage which they now possess should be curtailed or interfered with; there should be only the sentimental grievance involved in the word "slave." What, do we know, would be the consequence? Rather than submit to such a grievance, the colonies, as one man, would repudiate their allegiance, and even in this country we might think of erecting an independent monarchy—wherein Sir Richard Temple should not be Chancellor of the Exchequer. Now, women are in this galling state of dependency, not only nominally, but in deed and in truth, and with the most disagreeable consequences. A starving man who steals a trifle to allay his hunger is heavily punished; one who beats his wife with a poker, or kicks her till she is black and blue, comes off almost scot-free. In the one case he has been meddling with other people's property; in the other he has simply maltreated an article of his own household furniture. If a woman is unfaithful to her husband, the law at once steps in and liberates the man; if the man is guilty of a similar crime, the law is no longer so complacent. In the one case, the injured party is a free agent, with a clear right to disencumber himself of a useless and expensive piece of property; in the other, it is simply a slave who has parted with her freedom, and has therefore no rights as against her master. Every one is aware that when a woman marries, unless guarded upon every side by settlements, she is treated exactly as a felon, and her entire effects, present or to come, confiscated for the benefit of her husband. Such are only a few of the consequences of a sentimental grievance; but quite sufficient, in our judgment, to justify any amount of clamour for its instantaneous removal.*

* The historian of the Roman Empire thus describes the feelings and condition of the married women in the Roman Republic: "They were indignant at the servitude to which it bound them, the state of dependence and legal incapacity in which it kept them; for it left them without rights,

and without the enjoyment of their own property; it reduced them to the status of mere children, or rather transferred them from the power of their parent to that of their husband. They continued through life, in spite of the mockery of respect, . . . things rather than persons; things

These are, however, but a very small part of the positive injury inflicted upon women by our prohibitory laws. Such laws foster and encourage a tone of thought and a condition of society, which are felt for evil or good in regions which the positive enactment never affects. Thus, at present, these restraints have generated the conviction that marriage is not merely a natural and proper condition for a woman, but that any other profession, except as a species of stop-gap, is quite unnatural—if not also immoral. It is considered quite a duty on the part of society to station guards at the head of all the different roads of life, so that any recalcitrant female, attempting to rush down them, may be driven back with blows and imprecations, and hustled, as it were by main force, into the marriage market—there to be put up for sale, and knocked down to the highest bidder. The unmarried portion of a girl's life is a preparation for this one event. The duties of a wife and mother lie beyond, but are never considered for a moment. The great object is to give her a complete varnish of those superficial attractions which are supposed to fascinate the mind of the male creature—to entangle him like a fly in too much honey. To make assurance doubly sure, to leave no loop-hole for escape, a variety of small humiliations are carefully provided for those degraded creatures who either cannot or will not get married. They are taken in last to dinner; they are supposed to sit with their backs to the horses; to make themselves, in a word, generally useful, as hewers of wood and drawers of water to their more meritorious sisters who have brought the whole duty of woman to a successful conclusion. But, though our young women are thus marshalled on their way to marriage by crowds of guards on the right hand and on the left, we demand of them, by a most unreasonable contradiction, the affectation of a complete unconsciousness as to the why and wherefore of all these social arrangements. They are trotted out, and compelled to exhibit their paces among a host of other aspirants for the same honour; they are taught to consider as unfeminine, if not positively bad, such of their sisterhood as propose to themselves some other business but this; they are "brought out," as the saying is, solely for the

that could be sold, transferred backwards and forwards, from one master to another, for the sake of their dowry."—*Merivale's Romans under the Empire*, vol. iv, p. 83. So far the identity is complete between then and now. Mr. Merivale, however, adds some darker traits. Beating his wife with rods, is not a legally recognized privilege of the independent Britisher, but the thing itself is ex-

cessively practised, and with almost complete impunity. Neither at present can the independent Britisher put his wife to death when he feels so disposed, but it is to be remarked, that 'the poker husbands' as Miss Trotwood termed them, are active in their efforts to supply this deficiency, and their laudable endeavours are much befriended and encouraged by the principles of English law.

purpose of getting "settled" but if any young lady is sufficiently sincere or indiscreet to intimate by a word that she wants to get married, the prudery of the British public is shocked beyond measure. They hurry away from the abandoned creature, covering their blushing countenances in a sort of holy horror. Such is a girl's life—

Thus do they rust in shade, or shine in strife,
And fluctuate 'twixt blind hopes and blind despairs,
And fancy that they put forth all their life,
Yet never know how with the soul it fares.

Further on we hope to show how these ingenious contrivances, so far from working in harmony with Nature's laws, tend to weaken and even destroy the moral and intellectual powers of women, and thereby to unfit them for the one function to which we are pleased to confine them. At present, we wish to point out that this condition of things is tolerable only when every woman not only ought, but can get married. It becomes a grinding injustice when, as at present, the number of women to be married exceeds that of the men who are to marry them. What is the excess to do? They cannot enter that divinely-appointed domestic life. They are in precisely the same condition as unmarried men. They must either remain a burden on their parents, who may, perhaps, be unable to sustain it, or they must fight the battle of life, differing from men only in this—that they enter the contest heavily encumbered with restrictions we compell them to carry. Is it, for example, part of the divine government of the universe, that a gentleman's daughter, left unexpectedly destitute, should have no alternative to the hopeless and miserable trade of a governess? This, at any rate, is her present condition. That women should have risen superior to these conditions—that in every century numbers should be found who have forced a way to fame and honour through all the obstacles piled up against them,—shows the native strength and fortitude of the woman's character, and the wild folly of our social arrangements which strive to stunt, instead of encouraging, the development of these great qualities.

The stoutest opponent, however, of the emancipation of women, is generally willing to admit that the case of women who cannot get married is one worthy of consideration. Few, indeed, can fail to perceive that there is something requiring amendment, when a number of people are rigidly forbidden any but one mode of livelihood, and, at the same time, irretrievably excluded from that. Driven into this corner, the adversary is, however, true to himself. He produces one more argument, which, being wholly conjectural, it is impossible wholly to refute; and this enables him to escape, if not altogether

uninjured, at least without striking his colours, and acknowledging himself defeated. "What you point out," he will say, with an air of benevolent candour, "is perfectly true. The case of unmarried women is at present a very hard one; the more so that the excess is generally confined to the educated class, whose birth and mode of bringing up unfit them for those menial occupations which are open to women in a lower rank of life. I would gladly see some of these restrictions removed on their account, if it could be done with safety. But you will yourself admit, that the interests of the many must over-ride the interests of the few. We cannot sacrifice the well-being of society in general for the sake of these interesting clients of yours. Think, my dear friend, the peril to which the purity and modesty of women would be exposed, were they allowed to compete in all matters upon equal terms with men. There is nothing more beautiful, or more beneficial to society, than the superior goodness of women; but we must not forget that this virtue is artificially produced. It is the restrictions you complain of that have wrought these admirable results. You are, of course, acquainted with the well-known adage about pitch. If you wish to retain the present high standard of female virtue, you must guard it from contamination by the world."

This argument, as we have said, is purely conjectural. It proceeds upon the assumption that the woman of the nineteenth century is wholly an artificial production, manufactured, within and without, by the operation of prohibitory laws which seclude her from the world. Followed out to its legitimate consequences, we should expect to find the most exalted instances of modesty and purity in the harems of eastern potentates, the inmates of which never come in contact with the world at all. But flowers of this character have not, up to this time, flourished abundantly on such a soil. For our part, we prefer to believe that purity and goodness are attributes of women, which have their sources in the heart, and are not mechanically produced by appliances *ab extra*. Adopting, however, the hypothesis of our opponents, we fail to perceive the worth of the present restrictions to preserve the divinity which hedges round the person of a woman. We allow women to serve in the same shops with men, to work in the same manufactories. Our young ladies ride with gentlemen, waltz with them, play croquet with them, and together worship the great god Respectability. They read the same books and the same newspapers. Our young ladies are often for hours wholly beyond the supervision of their parents, and, did they feel so disposed, might prosecute any number of intrigues without much chance of detection. Nevertheless, they do not. Such is the present condition of things. Now if

the present restrictions were removed, the consequences would be these. Certain women, at intervals of four or five years, would be permitted to give their vote in favour of a Member of Parliament. All women who were not content with the superficial varnish alluded to a short while back, would have ingress to the universities, and be permitted to enjoy the advantages of a thorough education,—a process generally considered to conduce to a high standard of life, rather than otherwise. Those who could not, or would not marry, would no longer be doomed to the drudgery of a governess's life. They might strive for employment either in the legal or the medical profession. Neither of these occupations may be suited for women. For ourselves, we are free to confess that few, in our opinion, would attempt even to enter them; a still smaller number would eventually succeed; but at the same time we are utterly unable to discover the corrupting tendencies which are supposed to lurk within them. Miss Nightingale and the army of nurses who attended the hospitals at Scutari, are not generally supposed to have broken through all moral restraints in consequence of their experiences. It is difficult to understand the subtle poison which can ruin the female practitioner of medicine, but has no influence upon female nurses. On the other hand nothing, it seems to us, can so certainly ruin the moral character as the life of utter inanity to which we condemn an unmarried girl. There is a great deal of truth in Dr. Watts' conviction that Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do. And there cannot be two opinions on the point, that a woman, flung destitute upon the world, is far less likely to abandon the native goodness of her character, when she finds a career open to her, if she has only perseverance and capacity, than when, as now, she is well-nigh driven by society to sell herself for food. For our own part, we consider it as an insult to women to think the point open to discussion. We feel assured that a more direct and intimate knowledge of the world, so far from demoralising women, would develop the very qualities which are the surest safeguard against such a result—the intellectual *clinch*, namely, and the love of principles rather than personal sentiment, which the present system has well-nigh starved to death.

Certain we are that, in a world like this, the only kind of goodness which will very soon be valued, is one that will be good in all weathers, that will not fear exposure to the chill of the night dews, or the searching winds of heaven. It is in such an atmosphere that men must live and fight and die, if they desire to leave their mark behind them. A virtue that is merely ornamental, an exotic to be carefully guarded under a glass case, lest it wither away, is no help meet for them. They may like to have it in

their houses, as a pleasant addition to their pictures and their statues, an amusement in their hours of recreation—but that is all. Their hearts will be elsewhere.

There, is, however, little fear of any such consequences. We cannot exclude women from participation in the great games of life, try as much as we may. The theory that they have nothing to do with these—that they simply possess a parasitic species of existence, and depend as such for subsistence on the man to whom they are attached—has been for centuries the universal belief in Oriental countries. Their social arrangements have been made in strict conformity with it. The women have been kept sedulously under lock and key; muffled up in clothes till they became a shapeless mass of lumber, when they ventured abroad; and a third sex artificially constructed for the express purpose of preserving them from contact with the world. With what results? We have all heard of that astute potentate, whose first question, when any very complex matter came up for adjudication, invariably was “Who is she?” His experience had taught him that seldom did anything of importance disturb the tranquillity of the world, but a woman was at work somewhere. The artificial sex, the promptest methods of extermination, guards, veils, locks and keys, had just effected this much, and the experience of the world in general has not run counter to the conviction of this discerning Oriental. From the siege of Troy downwards, women have applied the torch to most of the conflagrations which have set the world on fire. Women, not unfrequently, have been most active to fan the smouldering ashes to a flame, and kingdoms, too numerous to reckon, have been lost and won for the glance of a lady’s eyes. Who was the animating soul of the Lancastrian Party in our wars of the Roses?—Margaret of Anjou. What positively brought about the wars of the Fronde?—The intrigues and fascinations of rival beauties at the French Court. Whose was the spirit which more than any other conducted Charles I to the scaffold at Whitehall?—His Queen Henrietta Maria. Whom did the leaders of the French Revolution acknowledge as their noblest and most determined enemy?—The Queen Marie Antoinette. Whose unbridled passions involved Europe in the misery and carnage of the seven years’ war?—The Mistress of Louis XV. What checked Marlborough when he had turned the lines of Marshall Villars, and Paris lay undefended before him?—The intrigues of a lady of the Queen’s bed-chamber. We have attempted to exclude women from the world of action, and these are some of the consequences. They have broken through our strongest barriers, but, deprived of a legitimate sphere for their abilities, they have set up an *imperium in imperia* which we trace at every crisis, turning aside the natural current of affairs, and introducing endless disorder and wretchedness.

The question then, as it seems to us, is not whether it is good or otherwise to exclude women from the world. For some six thousand years men have decided that it is good—the manifest intention of God in fact—and acted accordingly. They have not succeeded, but they have wrought a great deal of mischief. A reasonable man then would, we think, argue the point somewhat in this way :—“ Whatever be my private opinions on this matter, it is clear that facts are against me. It is of no use to bind these irrepressible females with links of iron. They break their bonds in sunder, and cast away our cords from them. We have tried every device the mind can conceive of. We have beaten them with rods ; we have put them to death in the most liberal fashion ; we have sewn them in sacks, and had them flung into the sea ; we have bartered and exchanged them among ourselves, precisely in the same manner as our dogs and horses ; we have excluded them from the benefits of education ; we have confiscated their property on various pretexts ; we have loaded them with all manner of legal and social encumbrances, and it has availed nothing. They lead us by a single hair. They have but to smile—to speak a few flattering words with those tongues which are more subtle than any beast of the field—and we grovel helplessly before them. We are ready to do anything at their bidding, and would cut the throat of our dearest friend, if he ventured to oppose the strong compulsion. Our arrangements have effected nothing of what they were intended to do. It remains then only to remove these restrictions, to discard our *a priori* notions as to what a woman ought to be, and attempt to discover by the tests of freedom and experience exactly what she is, and what is her true position in the economy of life.”

It is this last argument which appears to the present writer so unanswerable. It is idle to say that this or that is woman's true sphere, when we have never allowed her to cultivate her powers and ascertain their natural bent and capacity. We have no wish that women should enter with men into the dust and heat of strife. We have no desire to see them, like ourselves, struggling, slipping and climbing up the sides of a deep abyss, whence, ever and anon, they would fall with loud shrieks into that slough of despond known “as pot getting on,” to which we have already alluded. Their work, as we imagine, would be to correct this inordinate desire to get on—to teach us by precept and example that man does not live by bread alone—to introduce into our hard notions of free-trade, supply and demand, and the like, elements of forbearance and sympathy—the sense of a brotherhood which unites rich and poor in one family, in place of cash payment as the sole *nexus* between man and man. Their minds, which attach themselves so readily to the concrete and the actual,

would be the very instrument to break up the belief which at present wields so great a power—the belief that what is called Political Economy is a system of independent forces, and not the selfish propensities of men followed out to their extreme consequences, and then dignified by the name of a science. But the recognition of women as citizens is a matter to our thinking so important that we must state the arguments in favour of it at some length.

It is an admitted political axiom that any class in a nation tends to exert a political power in proportion to its force in society. Any social force, therefore, excluded from the government of a country, wields an obstructive political power, and has, under certain conditions, actually crushed and destroyed the constituted organs of authority. This was the case in France at the time of the great Revolution. In England, consciously or unconsciously, we have striven to make the Government co-extensive with the national life—to take up into the Representative Assembly each social force as it sprang into existence. Thus, when the spinning machine and the steam engine called a new world into life in the very heart of the country, and the decay of the old centres of trade had thrown all governing power into the hands of the landed gentry, the Reform Bill of 1832 restored the equilibrium.

Again in 1868. The artisan class, from mere units, had grown into a gigantic social force which could not be ignored. There it existed, and was exercising a political power felt through the length and breadth of the land, but in general running counter to the legal authorities. Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill was the attempt to meet this new exigency, and bring the new political power into harmonious action with the old.

Now, in all ages of the world, women have been a great force in society, and in consequence a great political power as well. We have culled a few random illustrations, but these might be multiplied to almost any extent. They have undeniably exhibited political abilities of the highest order. But working under no recognized responsibility—possessed of no legitimate sphere of action, they have generally acted as a destructive and revolutionary power rather than a conservative one—with selfish aims in place of national. Men are to blame for this. Our assertion that women were not fit for political life, and our action thereupon, could not deprive them of the political capacities which nature had given them, but it could, and did of necessity, warp and pervert these powers. Cut off from national life, the tact, the insight, the persuasive power, the fascination, the understanding of character, the ever ready sympathy, instead of being subservient to the interests of humanity at large, were put forth for the gratification of

petty fancies and personal ambition—with what disastrous consequences, the world's history can show.

Mr. Maurice has made some remarks on this aspect of the woman's question which express our thoughts far better than we could ourselves.

"The question of Female Suffrage," he writes, "will shortly come before Parliament. The advocates of it assert the right of women to share in the government of a country of which they constitute so large a portion. The opponents of it maintain that the influence which women exercise in England, is and should be domestic, not political.

"I leave the first argument untouched; on the second I would wish to say a few words. Can any one pretend that the influence of women over politics,—over electioneering politics especially—is not very considerable now? Suppose it is only domestic influence; that continually determines what candidates shall offer themselves, not unfrequently what candidate shall be elected. But notoriously this purely 'domestic' power is exerted, dangerously exerted, on tenants, on shopkeepers, on all classes that form our constituencies. According to the maxims that are generally accepted by thoughtful men, is it not well that this (strictly political) power should be held under a sense of responsibility with the acknowledgment of it as a trust, not wielded carelessly to gratify some sentiment, to sustain some personal favourite? Those who demand the suffrage for women are not really asking for them a power which they do not possess; they are asking a security that the power which they do possess may be used seriously, with a deliberate conviction, with a dread of sacrificing general interests to private partialities.

"By withholding the suffrage from women, on the ground they ought not to be politicians, we make them, it seems to me, politicians of the worst kind. We justify all feminine pleas for acting upon mere trust or fancy in the selection of a candidate; we encourage the abuses to which those pleas lead. On the other hand, if the Legislature frankly admits women to the exercise of the suffrage, it will, I believe, gradually raise the tone of the whole land, by raising the tone of those who, often to their injury, govern its governors. In any sphere wherein women feel their responsibility, they are, as a rule, far more conscientious than men. When in any sphere, they are *less* conscientious, it is reasonable to conjecture that in this sphere something has taken from them the sense of responsibility. Mere legislation, is not able to effect such a mischief as that, but legislation, based upon a moral theory and working along with it, may do even greater mischief. I would contend as earnestly as any one for the domestic duties of a woman. I question

whether you do not cripple her in the performance of these duties and lower her conception of their grandeur, when you teach her not to regard herself as a citizen. The sanctity of the home is the safe-guard of the nation ; but if you decree a separation between the home and the nation, if you affirm that one half of the nation is to be shut up in the home, and excluded from any participation in large interests, take care that the ornaments of the home do not become mere ornaments ; pictures to be gazed at and worshipped—not living powers to purify and hallow.”

The simple but impressive sentiment with which the above passage concludes, brings us by a natural sequence to the last and most important aspect of the woman's question—the effect, namely, which her complete emancipation would have upon her home-life, her duties to society as a wife and mother.

The family affections are the great and continual counterpoise to the self-seeking tendencies of humanity. The love for husband, wife, father, mother and children, convinces us all by practical experience, that selfishness is not supreme even in this world. It does not so much as struggle against this new power and die fighting hard, but passes, as the Poet Laureate has told us, “in music out of sight.” We none of us think it strange that a father should sacrifice every personal aim for the sake of his children, or a mother either, because we see the thing done every day, and yet, did we think of it, we should assuredly wonder at the strange metamorphosis. But a feeling of this character is by its very nature diffusive. In the family affections we discover the touch of nature which makes the whole world kin, and thus a nation gradually comes in to people the vacant niches which once perhaps contained only images of self. It is difficult to trace in words the genesis and growth of this inner life, but we most of us feel that the love of country, the consciousness of a living spirit linking us alike with the past and with the future, the desire for fame, for an unstained name, are all indissolubly connected with the family-life. Every parent knows that it is no mere figure of speech to say that he or she live again in their children. From this sense of a transmitted immortality, even here on earth, arises the life of the nation—the sense of a duty to posterity as well as of gratitude to the past. And thus it is, that when, as in the days of the Roman Empire, the sanctity of the family-life has become a forgotten thing, human beings have lapsed into a state of utter selfishness, which has destroyed equally their love for their country, their respect for themselves, and their regard for their fellow-creatures. But there are ominous sounds abroad that this family-life is itself an antiquated arrangement, very soon to be melted down in the crucible of modern ideas. Family parties of all kinds are univer-

sally acknowledged to be a bore ; and divorce laws will, it is thought, before long make them simply impossible.

These rumours obtain but little regard from indolent devotees of progress. They at once ascribe them to the advance of civilization, and trouble themselves no further. The progressiveness of humanity is at present the prevalent faith, and we do not doubt it to be a true one. But the progress of humanity is not a quiet, orderly advance, like the growth of a tree. It is attended with storm and earthquake, and terrible convulsions. Every new birth, so to speak, of the human race has been accomplished amid the groans and agonies of an expiring world. This very western civilization, of which we think so much, rose from the ruins of a Roman Empire. There is nothing wild in the supposition that a time may come when the British Empire likewise will be weighed and found wanting, and this work of the Great Potter, like so many that have gone before it, be broken up and remoulded anew ; while the kings of the earth who lived deliciously with her, bewail and lament as they behold the smoke of her burning. Certainly nothing would more tend to convince the present writer that such an era was approaching than the decay of family-life.

It is therefore worth inquiring if the emancipation of women is likely to preserve the life of the family, or to aid the benevolent efforts of those reformers, who desire to make marriage a temporary connection to be dissolved at pleasure.

The practice of falling in love will be a matter for laughter to the world's end ; and it is, without doubt, extremely absurd. When Mr. Jones, an extraordinarily ordinary young man, meets Miss Brown, who may be described in similar terms, and they fall in love, and the whole world becomes in consequence transfigured before them, apparelled as it were in "the glory and the freshness of a dream," and every stream and rustling leaf and dancing sunbeam, and the placid splendours of the moon and the stars, become signs and symbols of the beloved object—all this is certainly laughable enough to the indifferent spectator, for whom the enamoured pair are still clothed in the sober grey of ordinary existence. But yet, when we think of it, what a beautiful and beneficent arrangement it is. This world, as Carlyle tell us, is to most but a warehouse, or at the best a fancy-bazaar ; a place whereon to make roads and sow corn. But to the elect few—the poets, it becomes a mystic temple and a Hall of Doom. The glory of their own thought flings the reflection of its splendour on all things around them. They can discover sermons in stones, and books in the running brooks. The meanest flower that blows can give thoughts to them that lie too deep for tears. It is not the ordinary morning which

breaks up *their* darkness, but "day like a mighty river flowing in." The stars become the poetry of heaven; and the moon is the beautiful Dian herself, stealing across the sky

Till in some Latmian cave, they see her creep,
To catch the young Endymion asleep,
Leaving her splendour at the jagged porch.

By common consent, such men are the *élite* of humanity—the consummate flower of the mortal intellect. That combination of qualities which strips "the veil from the hidden beauty of the earth, and makes familiar objects be as though they were not familiar"—which unites the sense of novelty and the vivid imagination of the child with the judgment and understanding of the man—which reconciles the teachings of experience with the intuitions of the inner eye—which can incarnate all this in words of such subtle harmony and power, that they move the hearts of men with undiminished force, though centuries pass away and changing empires wane and wax—these qualities, we are most of us agreed, constitute the richest endowment that God can bestow upon man. Well, to our thinking, it is a great matter that the dullest among us, if he can only fall in love, may become in spirit one of this noble company, may be rapt away into these transcendental regions. He may, for a time, enter, with a feeling as of private possession, into the glow and splendour and fervid passion of Byron's stormy heart; may float, as in his natural atmosphere, amid the ethereal creations of Shelley's mind; or, together with Wordsworth, illuminate the world with that wondrous gleam—

The light that never was on sea or land,
The consecration and the Poet's dream.

We do not mean that, given an ordinary Englishman in love, he would interpret his feelings in this way. The Englishman is a dumb dog, loving not to bark. If he thinks of the world within him at all, it is probably as a cunningly contrived digesting apparatus, with a tendency to get out of order, if trifled with. He has his simple creed of what to do, and what to avoid. There is the hell of not getting on—he must avoid that; there is the great god Respectability—him he must worship; and above all things he must eschew sentiment of any description. "Romantic bosh" is the expression he would probably use—two words which sum up in a compendious form the emotional and imaginative attributes of the mind. In this way, the ordinary Englishman contrives to build a tolerably thick wall between himself and what a poet has termed "the questing and the guessing of the soul's own soul within." Consequently, when he falls in love, if he is fortunate enough to do so, and the passion breaks down this barrier, and

he becomes aware for the first time of a whole world within him which takes no account of Respectability, which in fact hates it with an immeasurable hatred, he is surprised beyond the power of expression. He can only manifest his amazement in a dumb, inarticulate fashion. He is like a man struck blind with excess of light. He can no more accommodate himself to the ways of this new world, than Byron or Shelley could have transacted business on the Stock Exchange. The magnificent apparel which the engaged Englishman assumes, is a sort of unconscious recognition that he has entered into a new world, regulated by quite other laws than those he has hitherto been accustomed to. If he does not actually produce some verses, he is aware of a powerful impulsion in that direction. He may be restrained, as it were, on the very threshold of a poem, by a difficulty in providing a sufficient quantity of rhymes, or indeed articulating his thoughts at all; but the existence of a desire shows the extraordinary perturbation within. It unites him by a living bond of sympathy to all the great singers from Homer downwards. He feels that if he had only thought of this sooner, and practised a little—if now just one small window could be opened in his mind, and the light let in—he would be altogether as one of them, and could celebrate the beauty of the future Mrs. Brown or Mrs. Jones, in language worthy of her. In default of verse, he will, if opportunity offers, cover countless sheets of paper with the prose expression of his attachment. There is, as it were, a revelation of the Infinite in the countenance of the Beloved object which enables him to pass hour after hour in her society without any sensation of boredom. To the uninitiated, this perennial delight in each other's society, manifested by an engaged couple, is perhaps the most completely inexplicable part of a love affair. Sometimes they lament over another good fellow gone and done for; sometimes they regard it as a pretence; sometimes they compassionate the victims; but the truth is hid from them. But to the couple, it comes as natural as to breathe; and they never reason on the subject at all. They are in love, to adopt a passage from Plato, but with whom, they cannot say; nay, what it is that has come over them, they know not; but like one who has caught a disease in the eye from the diseased gaze of another, they can assign no reason for their affection.

We have heard many excellent, but dull, people regret what they are pleased to call the insanity of love. For that passion which transforms, as with the touch of a magician's wand, our common human clay into forms brighter "than the evening air, clad in the beauty of a thousand stars," they would substitute esteem produced by a long acquaintance. We most of us think we can improve upon the divine laws in many things, but especially in this matter of

marriage. We are constantly talking and acting as though it were good to marry for money, for a position in society, for a rise in our profession—as if in this way we actually secured more than an equivalent for the absence of love. Like Esau, we are always ready to sell our birth-right for a mess of pottage. But this deliberate expulsion of love in favour of esteem, is as absurd as it is revolting.* There are some tangible advantages to be procured by the other substitutes, but until some infallible mode of detecting estimable people is provided, this plan is like Dr. Watts' advice to a young man anxious to improve himself. So far as our experience goes, bores are invariably highly estimable people; otherwise, long before this, a much enduring world would not have permitted them to live. Fortunately so very few men and women, as long as there is a chance of falling in love, are likely to be impelled into marriage from motives of esteem, that we need not discuss whether or not it would be a change for the better. This, however, we will say. A marriage, the result of esteem, could never in the nature of things be attended by that elevation of mind, that desire after a nobler, purer life, which accompanies a marriage for love. For these feelings are kindled by that very excess of glory in which our passion invests the object of it. Because we deem *that* so far above us, we determine to be not altogether unworthy of our good fortune. It is a poor thing in comparison with this to have

* "False is the tale which says that when a lover is present, favour ought rather to be shown to one who is no lover, on the score, forsooth, of the one being mad and the other sane. For if it were true, without exception, that madness is an evil, there would be no great harm in the assertion; but as it is, we owe our greatest blessings to madness, if only it be granted by Heaven's bounty. For the prophetess at Delphi, you are well aware, and the priestesses at Dodona, have in their moments of madness done great and glorious service to the men and the cities of Greece, but little or none in their sober mood. And if we were to speak of the Sybil and all others, that by exercise of inspired divination have told beforehand many things to many men, and thereby guided them aright in their future courses, we should run to a great length in telling only what everybody knows. . . . And thirdly, there is a possession and a madness inspired by the Muses, which

seizes upon a tender and a virgin's soul, and, stirring it up to a rapturous frenzy adorns in ode and other verse the countless deeds of elder time for the instruction of after ages. But whosoever, without the madness of the Muses, comes to knock at the door of poesy, from the conceit that haply by force of art he will become an efficient poet, departs with blasted hopes, and his poetry, the poetry of sense, fades into obscurity before the poetry of madness. Such, and yet more, are the glorious results I can tell you of, as proceeding from a madness inspired by the gods. Let us not, therefore, regard with apprehension the particular result we are considering, nor be perplexed and frightened by any arguments into the belief that we ought to select the sensible rather than the enraptured man as our friend. No, our opponent must not carry off the palm of victory till he has likewise made it evident, that for no god is love sent from heaven to lover and beloved."—*Plato's Phædrus. Wright's translation.*

to weigh each other, as it were, in a pair of scales, and strike a bargain only when we have discovered that we are likely to get our money's worth. People appear to imagine there is something safer and more permanent in the feeling of esteem than in the feeling of love. It would be impossible to make a greater mistake. Everybody must have known numbers of both sexes who are held in the highest estimation by their friends, but are not the less only "stuffed clothes suits that chatter and grin meaningless." The beauty and pre-eminence of love would never have been called into question, but for the behaviour of people after marriage. It is magnificent so long as it lasts; but it lasts such a very short time. For a few months, the newly married are all in all to each other; then they fade into the light of common day. He returns to his club and his bachelor friends with a feeling of zest; his home is his office, if he has one, as much as ever, and he returns to the society of his wife mainly for the purpose of consuming food in her presence, and then sleeping or reading a newspaper. She goes her way; she has her callers and pays her visits, and drives out, or plays croquet; and in a hum-drum jog-trot sort of fashion, they are perhaps comfortable and happy enough. But the splendour of the connection has departed, and there remains hardly anything to distinguish them from ordinary mortals but the fact of juxtaposition. Such, at least, is the general sentiment regarding marriage; in the main an erroneous one, for married people are generally too well contented with their lot to exhibit their felicity in public; but containing also a measure of truth, and this measure it is which gives rise to the talk about divorce.

As civilization advances, and society for good or evil becomes more perfectly organized, life also becomes, of necessity, increasingly mechanical. Whatever we have to do, we do it as a matter of course—working out the weary years in a dull mill-round of industry, or an equally dull mill-round of pleasure. There is no escape from these trammels. Every one must move sluggishly along his appointed path, inevitable as Destiny. This is of course productive, on the whole, of a greater amount of happiness than the alternations of a more restless time. Not the less, the soul of man at times rises in rebellion against it. He craves, with absolute fierceness, to shatter the iron yoke of Respectability, and give free rein to the unlimited *possibilities* he is conscious of within. He longs to feel his life beating its fullest at every point of sensation—to be no longer the half torpid product of mechanical routine—but a man full of fire and energy and passion and hope, like the great sailors of the Virgin Queen, or the knights errant of the era of chivalry. It is this revolt against monotony which drives men to the gaming tables, and converts sober traders into insane speculators on the Stock

Exchange. They want excitement, to know by experience the richness and the strength of life.*

It is precisely this which the passion of love bestows in a moment of time. It invests life with the richness, the intensity, the active sense of delight and far-reaching hope which men crave after. It invigorates the mind, bringing up to the surface all that is truest and noblest within. Men, aware of this, watch with dismay the decay of this lofty existence, so soon as the irrevocable vow is pronounced. The clouds lift, as it were, for a moment—they stand upon the verge of a new and splendid world, all bathed in brightest sunshine and peopled with the loveliest forms—they enter the Promised Land—and then the pageant vanishes, and they awake to find themselves confined in dismallier dungeons of Respectability than any they have yet known,—given over without a hope of relief to those terrible social labours, misnamed pleasures. This it is which causes men to mutter about divorce, in the hope to taste again the intoxicating delight, wherewith the dawn of Love overflowed the heart.

People who are attached to the good old notions respecting the sanctity of the marriage-tie, and the honour and glory of large families, are naturally aghast when some liberal preacher of progress insists upon marriage as a temporary contract for the mutual convenience of the contracting parties and dissoluble at pleasure. We sympathise heartily with their feeling of repugnance, but it will be more to the point if we reflect that Divorce Laws, whatever be their purport, only come into operation *after* married people desire to separate. They do not create the desire, but are themselves the product of it. The root of the evil lies deeper than in the positive enactment; and this it is which a true Reformer should attempt to eradicate, rather than rail at appear-

* In his poem of Locksley Hall, in beauty—steeped as it were in the the Poet Laureate has described these most gorgeous colours of a tropical feelings. The passage, though familiar to all lovers of poetry, is so rich sunset, that few of our readers will, we fancy, object to be reminded of it:—

“Or to break all links of habit, there to wander far away
 On from island unto island, at the gateways of the day,
 Larger constellations burning, mellow moons and happy skies,
 Breadths of tropic shade, and palms in cluster, knots of Paradise.
 Never comes a trader, never floats an European flag,
 Slides the bird o'er lustrous woodland, swings the trailer from the crag,
 Droops the heavy blossom'd bower, hangs the heavy fruited tree;
 Summer isles of Eden lying in dark purple spheres of sea!
 There, methinks, would be enjoyment, more than in this march of mind,
 In the steam ship, in the railway, in the thoughts that shake mankind,
 There the passions, cramped no longer, would find room and breathing space.
 I would take some savage woman, she should rear my dusky race;
 Iron-jointed, supple-sinewed, they shall dive, and they shall run,
 Catch the wild goat by the hair, and hurl their lances in the sun,
 Whistle back the parrots call, and leap the rainbows of the brooks,
 Better than with blinded eyesight, poring over miserable books.”

ances which merely indicate its existence. When, in attempting to discover this, we ask our readers to turn to the pages of Plato, we feel the strange character of the request requires explanation. There is a rough and ready way of explaining human actions, as, for example, in this business of matrimony we say "Smith married Miss Robinson for the sake of her money," or "they were frozen up in a country-house for some days and fell in love, having nothing else to do;" and such explanations are tolerably good working explanations, though, in truth, they explain very insufficiently even the special fact under observation. But to account for the affinities which induce marriage at all, which seem to make our happiness depend upon one person, require a finer insight and a subtler analysis. In giving precise forms to these delicate elements of our nature, in seizing them as they flit across the mirror of consciousness, there have been none, either before or after, to equal the great Athenian.

According to the great philosopher then, the souls of men once dwelt with the gods in a region beyond the sky, and there beheld beauty, wisdom, virtue, and all similar attributes, in their pure and simple essence. The deadening weight of sin sank them from that high estate to the world below, and fettered them to the body, as an oyster is fettered to its shell. But the remembrance of what they once knew* never leaves them, and they make the revolution of this lower element, burning with a desire to return to "the glories they have known, and that imperial palace whence they came." Hence, says the philosopher, ensues the extremest turmoil and struggling and sweating; and herein, by the awkwardness of the drivers, many souls are

* " those first affections,
 Those shadowy recollections,
 Which, be they what they may,
 Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
 Are yet a master-light of all our seeing;
 Uphold us, cherish, and have power to make
 Our noisy years seem moments in the Being
 Of the eternal silence; truths that wake
 To perish never;
 Which neither listlessness nor mad endeavour,
 Nor Man nor Boy,
 Nor all that is at enmity with joy,
 Can utterly abolish or destroy;
 Hence in a season of calm weather,
 Though inland far we be,
 Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
 Which brought us hither,
 Can in a moment travel thither
 And see the children sport upon the shore,
 And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore."

Wordsworth's Intimations of Immortality.

maimed and many injured in the crush; and all after painful labour go away without being blessed by admission to the spectacle of truth, and thenceforth live on the food of opinion. But still, whenever they see any resemblance here of what they know there, they are struck with wonder and delight. "Now in the likeness existing here of justice and temperance, and all else which souls hold precious, there is no brightness; but through the medium of dull dim instruments, it is but seldom and with difficulty that people are enabled on meeting with the copies to recognize the character of the original. But beauty not only shone brightly on our view at the time when in the heavenly choir we for our part followed in the band of Zeus, as others in the bands of other gods, and saw that blissful sight and spectacle, and were initiated into that mystery which I fear not to pronounce the most blessed of all mysteries; for we who celebrated it were perfect and untainted by the evil that awaited us in time to come, and perfect too and simple and calm and blissful were the visions which we were solemnly admitted to gaze upon in the purest light, ourselves being no less pure But to beauty alone is the privilege given of being at once most conspicuous and most lovely. The man, it is true, whose initiation is of ancient date, or who has lost his purity here, is slow in being carried hence to the essential beauty of the upper world, when he sees that which bears its name in this. But whosoever one who is fresh from those mysteries, who saw much of that heavenly vision, beholds in any god-like face or form a successful copy of original beauty, he first of all feels a shuddering chill then as he continues to gaze he is inspired with a reverential awe, and did he not fear the repute of exceeding madness, he would offer sacrifice to his beloved as to the image of a god." (*Plato's Phædrus.*)

In this sublime passage we have, as it seems to us, a revelation of the ground and purpose of marriage,—the sense, namely, of self-insufficiency—the desire after some vague dream of perfection, which few men have not been conscious of at some time or other. Most men, when they look into their minds, are deeply disgusted with what they find there. But together with the mean and bad and pitiful things which reward their introspection, they are aware of a second self which holds itself aloof from these contaminating elements—"a soul within the soul," as Shelley calls it, "which describes a little circle around its proper paradise, which pain and sorrow and evil dare not overleap." It is the embodiment of this better self which a man fancies he beholds in the woman he loves. Whatever other men may think, to him she is the incarnation of the ideal beauty that dwells in a world of pure and perfect light—the proper

home, according to Plato, of every human soul. He is utterly astounded at his own good fortune, and weighed to the earth with the sense of his unworthiness. We have known people in this condition express alarm lest they should forget the Creator in the creature—the creature being the person they were about to marry, and whose overpowering splendour, they considered, might in reason be expected to produce this result. Such is what we may term the natural attitude of men towards women. They believe them to be nobler, better and purer than themselves. They observe continually of any one who is going rapidly to the bad, “A good wife would be the salvation of him”; and then, to do their utmost, we suppose, to eradicate the genus ‘good wife,’ they condemn women externally to the life of lotus-eaters, and internally to one of utter intellectual vacuity.

Take, by way of illustration, a young English lady of the present day, and see to what our social arrangements have reduced her. While she is waiting to get married, her principal occupations are morning visits, croquet, balls, needle-work, and gossip; and once a week she pays the necessary tribute to the great god Respectability by going to church magnificently apparelled. She has of course other things to do occasionally, but these constitute the serious business of life.

She knows nothing. Her ignorance, as we once heard a gentleman say, upon all possible subjects is at once minute and exhaustive, general and particular. Her faculties having in this way been carefully starved from the hour of her birth, it is needless to say that the young lady of England possesses neither imagination nor humour. A girl who reads Shakespeare with an understanding mind, or enjoys the humour of Charles Lamb, is almost as much of a rarity as a roc’s egg. “Politics” being considered unfeminine, she lives among the great tides of thought and action flowing on beside and around her with never-resting sound and tumult, as inert and unmoved as a pebble resting at the bottom of a running brook. She is never permitted to study in any real sense of the word. She has no convictions, no principles of conduct, no opinions, except such as she can remember from the remarks of other people. When she reads a book not a novel—an event which may be fairly called an epoch in her existence—her powers of criticism are limited to one phrase:—“It is nice,” or “It is not nice.” These deficiencies are acknowledged and allowed for. A particular sort of conversation, suited to a limited capacity and known as ‘small talk,’ has been positively called into existence for the benefit of young ladies (as up to this time they retain the faculty of speech); and the most utter noodle of the other sex considers it incumbent upon him to narrow somewhat his vast powers when he “joins the ladies in the drawing-room.”

Now if the British public imagines that women, trained and educated in this fashion, are calculated to kindle enthusiastic devotion in the minds of their husbands, the British public is very much mistaken. It is in the terrible mental deficiencies of women—deficiencies for which men far more than women are to blame—that we must look for the comparative failure of married life. For a deep and lasting affection can only be felt for such objects as feed and satisfy the intellect. We see this in many different ways, notably in the case of friendship. If circumstances occur which float our minds into spiritual latitudes remote from those of our intimates, the bands of friendship, often to our extreme grief, spontaneously relax and fall asunder. The mind, no longer finding satisfaction, cannot remain steadfast to the objects of its former attachment. The same necessity of human nature is still more remarkably exhibited in that deep and lasting affection which we feel for poets, theologians, philosophers and others, whose written thoughts have given us strength and encouragement. No student of Shakespeare, for example, feels his love and admiration diminish as the years go by, but contrariwise. The longer his intercourse, the more intimate his knowledge, the deeper and richer are the draughts of delight and instruction which he drinks from that deep well of inspiration. And such, too, is the purpose involved in the idea of marriage—a constant advance towards the complete development of our human nature. The qualities of the one mind, aiding and supplementing those of the other in their joint search after perfection. This does not require the possession of any transcendent abilities. It only implies a practical recognition of the fact, that a man is not a man, if the chief good and market of his time be but to feed and sleep—that

He that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and godlike reason,
To frust in us unused.

But with a British Philistine on the one hand, intent only, as Mr. Arnold would say, on the assertion of his ordinary self, and a young lady on the other, whose thoughts have never penetrated beyond a world of morning visits and croquet flirtations, the spiritual purpose of marriage naturally fails of accomplishment. So, in place of a marriage, which, according to the Christian theory, should typify the mystical union of Christ and His Church, we get only juxtaposition; till, that too becoming intolerable, the wedded pair endure frequent temporary separations to their mutual satisfaction—in this country putting thousands of leagues between them—and the unmarried world aghast at the singular spectacle, cry aloud that divorce at the convenience of the two contracting parties is the only

possible basis an enterprise of this kind can be safely entered upon.

It is here that the advocate of emancipation steps in. You cannot, he points out, expect to gather grapes from thorns, or figs of thistles; and if you want thoughtful and intelligent wives, you must give them quite a different training than that afforded by croquet parties and morning visits. A large number of Englishmen would repudiate the suggestion with indignation. They do not want thoughtful and intelligent wives; or, as they would express it in their own forcible vernacular, they hate "blue stockings" like the devil, and what they want are girls with no "nonsense" about them. Amongst this class of people, "nonsense" is a word denoting every species of intelligence, acquired or innate, with sometimes an exception in favour of an understanding of the manners and customs of horses and dogs. To these gentlemen the emancipator would reply with courtesy, that they have no need to be alarmed: emancipated or not, there will always remain a residuum of women, absolutely destitute of "nonsense" in their sense of the word, and more than sufficient to supply their wants.

It may, however, be safely taken for granted, that, theoretically at least, most men are of opinion that thoughtful and intelligent wives are better than the reverse. They will even go a step further, and admit that thoughtfulness and intelligence are more effectively promoted by means of education than in any other way. Here, one might fondly imagine, were all the concessions needed to establish our conclusion. If thought and intelligence are as needful for women as for men, the notion falls to the ground, that there is anything specially in harmony with the fitness of things to confine them year after year to frivolous occupations. On the contrary, what by experience has been found most efficacious in strengthening the intellect of man, that, one would suppose in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, must be equally applicable to women. But the Britisher, perceiving whither this is tending, leaps back at this point. "What!" he exclaims, in horror, "would you have our women taught Greek literature, political economy, logic, metaphysics, and the physical sciences, just as men are?" "Why not?" we would reply. Any general propositions on education are of course subject to modification in their application to particular cases; but with this limitation it is not difficult to show that the effects of these several studies would be to correct some obvious defect, which at present defaces the character of women.

The city of Athens produced in the space of some two hundred years the greatest poets, philosophers, soldiers, statesmen, orators, painters, and sculptors, the world has ever seen. Here, at any rate, is a marvellous blossoming of the human intellect, the circumstances and character of which it must be good for every

human being, man or woman, to inquire into ; and if the thing is to be done at all, it is undeniably done most thoroughly at first hand, rather than through the medium of translations or histories written by modern authors. Apart from this, however, there is a spirit breathing from Greek literature, on which it is well to say a few words. "At the bottom," writes Matthew Arnold, "of both the Greek and the Hebrew notions is the desire, native in man, for reason and the will of God, the feeling after the universal order—in a word, the love of God. But while Hebraism seizes upon certain plain capital intimations of the universal order, and rivets itself, one may say, with unequalled grandeur and intensity on the study and observance of them, the bent of Hellenism is to follow with flexible activity the whole play of the universal order, to be apprehensive of missing any part of it, of sacrificing one part to another, to slip away from resting in this or that intimation of it, however capital. An unclouded clearness of mind, an unimpeded play of thought, is what this bent drives at. The governing idea of Hellenism is *spontaneity of consciousness* ; that of Hebraism, *strictness of conscience*..... To get rid of one's ignorance, to see things as they are, and by seeing them as they are to see them in their beauty, is the simple and attractive ideal which Hellenism holds out before human nature ; and from the simplicity and charm of this ideal, Hellenism, and human life in the hands of Hellenism, is invested with a kind of aerial ease, clearness and radiancy ; they are full of what we call sweetness and light."*

Now, is not this precisely the thing of which English women stand in need—to be lifted out of an artificial world, and to see things as they are,—to allow, as Mr. Arnold says in another place, a full stream of consciousness to flow around the lumps of petrification they are pleased to call their opinions? Women are not by nature more artificial than men, but owing to the narrow circle of interests in which they move, they are much more apt to identify conventional and purely arbitrary customs of society with the divine government of the universe ; and to think the one as binding as the other on the conscience and the action. Thus, for example, women have cultivated strictness of conscience with an admirable degree of success. But unhappily their notions of right and wrong are so narrow—their ignorance of the general relations of things so complete—the letter of the law so paramount to the spirit—that this very strictness of conscience not unfrequently carries them into positive immorality. Thus, though hard and cruel to an excess upon a fallen sister, hardly any woman perceives that anyone of her sex who marries for money or social

* *Culture and Anarchy*, p. 146.

position is guilty of a precisely similar crime. The one, cautious and business-like, trades successfully with her beauty or her youth for capital ; the other, most probably under the rash impulse of an over confident affection, flings her's away in a ruinous speculation. The latter appears to us rather the more praiseworthy of the two. In morality, as in other things, it is a servile bondage to fashion—to what the world will say—which dries up in English women all the fountains of originality or independent thought. Grecian literature, with its freedom from prejudice and pure spontaneous beauty of form, would be the very agency to dissipate these hard and fallacious notions, and to quicken into life the desire for what Mr. Arnold has happily termed sweetness and light, and which at present manifests itself chiefly in a certain womanly fondness for flowers and tasteful arrangement of furniture.

We pass to Political Economy. Of all studies, we know of none, so needed by women as the study of political economy. Women are charitable, but here, too, their profound unconsciousness of the interdependence of the universe and all that is in it, converts them into active propagators of mischief. That bountiful ladies demoralize the poor far more than their poverty—that begging is a flourishing and affluent profession from the inability of women to understand the harm of giving six-pence to any one in tattered clothing—are notorious facts. Teach ladies the principles of political economy, and you will not thereby deaden the charitable impulses, but simply guide them into their proper channel. Political Economy, using the term in its wider sense as including social science, is especially a subject which women ought to master. They are, by common consent, the dispensers of charity, the ministers on whom it devolves to redress the injustices of society. To do this effectually, it is indispensable to understand the causes which have been at work to produce them, both moral and material, and how this is to be acquired without an examination of the conditions which regulate the production, accumulation, and distribution of wealth, we are utterly unable to discover.

Our next subject is Logic. All women are *ex-officio* delightful and charming, just as all sovereigns are most gracious ! In their capacity of charming and delightful creatures, they are supposed to have a prescriptive right to be unreasonable. The absence of reason is indeed often set down as one of the delightful traits in their character, and when a girl is very pretty and very lively, with a musical laugh and bright eyes, and you do not see her for more than half an hour at a time, the absence is not very much felt. But the want of reason does not confine itself to pretty girls. They, too, grow old and lose their good looks, without becoming a whit more reasonable. Men, it must be conceded, are in the main,

as deficient as women in this matter of reason. It is very rare to meet any one who, having stated his premises, knows how to abide by them, or can draw a conclusion correctly. But men being constantly in contact with facts, their errors in logic are liable to constant correction. They are continually reminded that the strongest prejudices, supported by the most ingenious fallacies, are good for nothing if the realities are otherwise. Women cannot have this discipline. Reason is the only argument whereby you can assail them, and if they are impregnable to that, you must leave them in undisturbed possession of their whims and follies. Logic, moreover, not merely teaches us the mental processes involved in the syllogism, but it promotes clear and accurate habits of thought. It arms us, as it were, with an Ithuriel spear, at the touch of which the most ingenious disguises of falsehood fall away, and leave it in its natural hideousness. We come gradually to use it almost instinctively, when any proposition is advanced for our acceptance. And as it is barely possible to retain a falsehood in the mind, when the reason voluntarily exerted has proved it to be a falsehood, the mind rapidly becomes cleared of a great deal of useless lumber and much fog and mist which had previously been hanging about it. There is no reason to suppose that the cultivation of logic would not be attended with the same results in the case of women; and who that has had imposed upon him the painful task of convincing a woman of anything she did not want to believe, would not hail with acclamations the commencement of an education which tended to make them reasonable?

Lastly, we come to Metaphysics and Physical Sciences. The effect of these studies is to raise the mind above the murky atmosphere of prejudice, and inspire it with an intense and vivid sense of the beauty of truth. Both the metaphysician and the man of science must put aside all predispositions in any direction, and endeavour to behold the thing as it is through a medium that "intercepts no light, and takes no stain." The slightest swerve in this high upward path and their labours are hopelessly baffled. In both studies also, but especially in that of metaphysics, the teacher demands at every advance in the inquiry a corresponding activity in the mind of the pupil. It is the mind which the metaphysician proposes as a problem requiring solution. It is not sufficient, therefore, that a learner should acquiesce in his statements; he must verify them by the reproduction within himself of those very states of consciousness, which his master is attempting to analyse and explain. Hence arises clearness of internal vision and a power of mental analysis, which no other education could produce to the same extent. But better than all, the mind learns to know and to trust its strength in the endeavour to mount into the pure bracing heights of abstract thought.

Women, under our present arrangements receiving no education—that is, no discipline which develops and calls into play the voluntary activity of the mind—hate above all things the trouble of thinking. They never attempt to assimilate with their own nature the things that they hear or read. They never follow out principles to consequences. They are simply receptive, and the thing they receive, lies in their minds like seed scattered on a waste shore. It never takes root and puts forth stems and blossoms of its own. It never re-appears under new combinations, but, like the talent laid up in the napkin, remains in precisely the same form and condition in which it was first deposited. Here, then, would be one effect of the study of metaphysics—a general awakening of those dormant faculties which at present leave a woman's mind a sort of *tabula rasa*, a gradual revealing of the abundant wealth wherewith her nature is endowed. For it is of the essence of metaphysical study, not merely to analyse and re-combine that which we already know, but to raise us, as it were, to a loftier station of inquiry, and a wider reach of prospect. Moreover, in the attempt to penetrate these far-away unexplored regions of the mind, there is awakened a pleasurable sense of power—nay, even one of adventure and interest, which surpasses in degree the zest wherewith one follows a sensational story to the final catastrophe, and is far higher in kind. A sensational novel is no sooner finished than the pageantry fades away, before the weary and relaxed mind, leaving behind only languour and disgust. But the interest kindled by metaphysical inquiry is one that carries us always onwards. We may not discover the ultimate truth in search of which we set out, but we do discover everywhere such rich store of precious wealth, that our labour is well rewarded, and the disappointment hardly felt. Surely the minds of women need to be disciplined in this way far more even than those of men. It cannot be harmful for them—nay, it must surely be good—to abandon the dead levels of gossip, and for a while to ascend into the purer atmosphere of these lofty regions.

At this point the adversary would not improbably again commence to back resolutely. "Granting all that you have said," he would urge, "I fail to perceive any reason in it for the removal of the present restrictions. There is nothing contained in them which prevents a woman, if she likes, learning all these things." There is not; but, as we have remarked before, those restrictions are only a partial expression of convictions which stretch far beyond them, and exert a restraining power quite as effective as a written statute. We must in this, as in other matters, take human nature into account, ascertain the common motives which impel to action, and not suppose a thing must be done, because it is not actually impossible to do it. We may all learn the Chinese language or to decipher

Egyptian hieroglyphics, but very few people do, because these subjects have no practical connection with their ordinary life. Such precisely is the condition of most women. They are sternly forbidden to look beyond the home circle. Their duties are to wash and dress the children, to go about the house with a large bunch of keys, to pay visits and to receive them, to see that dinner is punctually on the table at the fixed hour, to send out the washing, and to fill up all spare moments with exercise on the tread-mill in the shape of a sewing machine. When a woman accomplishes these things with tolerable success, she realizes the idea of womanhood, as the English Philistine conceives it, and is everywhere spoken of as "an excellent wife who makes her husband thoroughly comfortable."* Now, we freely confess that all such matters can be got through without a knowledge of Plato or the Greek tragedies, or logic, metaphysics or political economy; but then a person who confines herself to such work, does not answer to our idea of a wife. She is only a permanent housekeeper. A wife, according to our idea of one, should be the educator as well as the nurse of her children the intellectual companion of her husband, and his fellow-labourer in the effort after complete spiritual perfection. This ideal she can never accomplish—except in the case of very rare and noble natures—so long as she is cabined and confined as at present. But, the restrictions broken down, the crushing weight of public opinion removed, and the true nature of woman in all its nobility and strength and purity would emerge from its prison-house like a captive set free. At present the ideal of womanhood taught her from childhood is to become a good wife according to the degraded pattern mentioned above. Then it would be to become one, by an intelligent participation in the inner life of her husband,—by not merely washing her children and arraying them in fine linen, but by educating them to become,

* Socrates's description of the manner in which the politicians of his day dealt with the Athenian populace, is very applicable to the relations which exist between a "good wife" and the ordinary British husband. "Just as if," says the wise old Greek, "any-one having to manage a great, strong, wild beast, should study its angers and its desires, and learn how he may coax it and stroke it, and watch when it is fierce and when it is placable, and what makes it the one or the other, and come to understand the noises which it makes on each such occasion, and what voices it attends to from others, which make it quiet or make it sa-

vage; and when he has learnt all this by intercourse with the creature and long habit, should call this *wisdom*, and make an art of it, and apply it as education; while yet all the time he knows nothing in truth concerning its opinions and desires, which of them is good or bad, right or wrong, fair or foul;—should call things *good* which the brute likes, and those things *bad* which it dislikes; and should have no other standard for them; and as to the nature of what is necessary and what is good in reality, and how they truly differ, should have no perception, and no power of explaining it to any person."—(*Plato's Republic*.)

like herself, patriotic and understanding citizens of a great country. The family would no longer be to her as a sort of little world revolving on its own axis, and moving round its own private sun; but one of the countless springs whence the great river of national life drew its sustenance and strength.

It remains, in conclusion, to indicate briefly the sort of influence on society* which women, properly trained and educated, might be expected to exert. The great enemy of human kind at present is the British Philistine, who walks abroad triumphant, and proclaims himself the lord of the universe. The special characteristics of the British Philistine are not so well-known as the name; but, according to Mr. Matthew Arnold who has studied this variety of the human race more closely than any one else, it consists in this—the assertion of a man's ordinary uneducated self as the highest expression of humanity. Plato and Shakespeare—poetry and philosophy—the British Philistine believes with complacency are well enough in books, but for good sound work in the way of setting the world right there is no one comparable to a thorough-going British Philistine. This perfect self-contentment enables the Philistine to invest whatever he says or does with a halo of splendour. He is convinced the House of Commons is the greatest legislative assembly in the world on account of the large number of pure and perfect Philistines congregated therein. Boards of Guardians, Parish Vestries, and the like bodies, are all in their degree clothed and protected by the sacredness and majesty of Philistinism. "Free trade"—a principle held sacred by the British Philistine—he regards as something essential almost to salvation, like "justification by faith". So also it seems is the practice of adulteration; for only a few months ago Mr. Bright, the great High Priest and crowning glory of the Philistines, assured the House of Commons that rather than consent to any interference with the sacred right of adulteration, he would advise the emigration of the entire Philistine community to more congenial shores. The able Indian administrator presents, generally, a very perfect type of the Philistine. He has the Philistine's strong faith that the regeneration of this country can be only brought about by making the natives think the same thoughts, and do the same things, as the Philistine thinks and does. He has the Philistine's strong contempt for mental culture, or any kind of knowledge which does not bear directly and absolutely on the work he has in hand. He has his burning desire to "get on;" and the feeling which in England causes the House of Commons, the

* Here, as throughout the essay, we would wish our readers to understand our remarks with special reference to English society as that with which we are best acquainted.

Workhouse Boards, and Parish Vestries; to be spoken of with solemn gravity, finds a vent with him in a certain reverential attitude, carefully graduated, towards Governors of provinces, Commissioners, and all other "gentlemen of considerable official position."*

The unchecked power of Philistinism would cause all the grace and poetry of life to wither away. It has effected much already in that disastrous direction, for it is well-nigh impossible for those brought up and surrounded by Philistines, not to adopt their tenets and imitate their practices. "It is" as Socrates says, speaking of the Philistines of his day, "when they sit crowded together in the public assemblies or the tribunals, or the theatres, or the meetings of the army, or any other place where multitudes are gathered together, and when they blame one thing or praise another with immense clamour, doing each in the most exaggerated way, and shouting and clapping their hands and stamping their feet so that the walls of the place and the rocks around echo the sound and double the cries of praise and blame. In such a scene as this, how do you think that the heart of a young man is likely to be affected? What special training which he may have received, can hold out against this? What principles shall not be carried away, as in a flood, by such blame and praise as this, in whatever direction that tends? How shall he escape calling those

* But perhaps a Philistine will best be understood by Mr. Arnold's description of what a Philistine is not. "In each class," he writes, "there are born a certain number of natures with a curiosity about their best self, with a bent for seeing things as they are, for disentangling themselves from machinery, for simply concerning themselves with reason and the will of God, and doing their best to make these prevail;—for the pursuit, in a word, of perfection. To certain manifestations of this love for perfection, mankind have accustomed themselves to give the name of *genius*; implying by this name something original and heaven-bestowed in the passion. But the passion is to be found far beyond those manifestations of it to which the world usually gives the name of genius, and in which there is, for the most part, a *talent* of some kind or other, a special and striking faculty of execution, informed by the heaven-bestowed

ardour or *genius*. It is to be found in many manifestations besides these, and may best be called, as we have called it, the love and pursuit of perfection; culture being the true source of the pursuing love, and sweetness and light the true character of the pursued perfection. Natures with this bent emerge in all classes. They have in general a rough time of it in their lives, but they are sown more abundantly than one might think, they appear where and when one least expects it. They set up a fire which enlightens, so to speak, the class in which they are ranked; and, in general, by the extrication of their best self as the self to develop, and by the simplicity of the ends fixed by them as paramount, they hinder the unchecked predominance of that class of life which is the affirmation of our ordinary self, and seasonably disconcert mankind in their worship of machinery."—(*Culture and Anarchy*, p. 109.)

things *good* and *bad* which *they* call so, and following the pursuits which they follow and being like them?"—(*Plato's Republic*.)

Such and so powerful is the enemy. The apostles of sweetness and light, few and far between, of whom Mr. Arnold makes mention, can make no permanent impression upon this formidable kingdom of darkness. They can only keep alive the traditions of a higher life. What is required to overthrow this domination is a power co-extensive with Philistinism, which might bear upon it with constant unremitting pressure at every point of its existence. It should not be itself engaged in the pursuits of the Philistines, for human nature can in general see but one thing at a time. And few people are after a while able to perceive that anything is of much importance but that to which they are devoted. At the same time it must thoroughly understand the end which the Philistine proposes to himself, and endeavour not so much to treat him as a downright enemy as to convince him that his *end* is not the ultimate perfection of things. Women are precisely the fittest agents. They could assail Philistinism at every point of its existence, and they possess the power also. The Philistine, married or unmarried, is as soft clay in their hands. But at present, as we have learnt from Socrates, what English ladies understand by wisdom is to know the noises which their husbands make, when they are pleased and when they are angry, and to pet and stroke them, and call those things *good* which they call good, and those things *bad* which they call bad; and though in the exercise of these arts they show consummate skill, and generally after a time render their husbands quite tame, still the training is not of a character to supplant Philistinism. On the contrary, it must, if possible, make it more ingrained than before. It proceeds, as a military man might say, by way of sap; singling out as the point of attack the self-satisfaction which is so conspicuous an element of the English character. It calls those things *good* which the brute likes, and those things *bad* which it dislikes; it accommodates itself to the noises which it makes; and if a lady has grown up daughters, it is curious to observe with what dexterity they also assist in the work of coaxing and stroking; so that the married Englishman lapses not unfrequently into as dogmatic and overbearing a creature as the world could easily show; and in any case is more than ever convinced that his ordinaryself is the very flowering of the human intellect. But if women had trained minds, cultivated tastes, and knowledge, it is almost impossible to limit the achievements which their tact and persuasive powers might not accomplish.

The light literature of the day, for one thing, would at once perish and come to an end, amid the general jubilation of all rational creatures. Ouida, Miss Braddon, the author of *Guy Livingstone* and the thousand others of that kind, finding no market

for their books (for it may be safely affirmed that no cultivated taste would endure them), would cease from production, and unless possessed of other means of subsistence, come upon the parish. The saving thus effected in the mere matter of time, would add several years to the life of every young lady, for the time spent in reading popular novels is literally a period of suspended animation. This indeed is the result which is aimed at. It is troublesome to think; it is troublesome to be alive, and do nothing; it is impossible always to sleep, but the perusal of a popular novel indulges the passiveness of absolute mental inertia, without the sense of vacuity: It, so to speak, paints a series of pictures on the brain of the reader without any exertion on his part. After a time, of course, as is the case with opium and other mental drugs, stronger and stronger colours are required to produce the desired effect. The domestic novel gives way to the historical; the historical to the sensational; and the sensational has of necessity to become more and more extravagant as the novel-reading public sinks into lower depths of torpidity. With the spread of education, however, this would come to an end. Sir Walter Scott, Miss Austen, George Eliot, Thackeray, would assume their rightful pre-eminence. Shakespeare and Milton would be read, not simply spoken of with conventional admiration. Wordsworth would cease to be regarded as a poet who writes simply for very young children. The young Philistine would have to look to himself. A faculty for small talk and a neat style of waltzing would no longer be a sufficient equipment to make him shine with distinction in society. Marriage, too, with our women, rational and educated, would no longer be the heedless operation it is at present. They would have juster ideas of the nature of happiness; they would know that it is a state of mind which cannot be brought about by the accident of social position, or the possession of so many thousands a year. With other careers open to them, marriage moreover would no longer be the one port to which they must steer. They would be in a position to make terms—to demand something at the hands of their admirers. This of course would be extremely disagreeable to the gentlemen who hate ‘nonsense;’ but to the world in general it would be immensely profitable. Women would become an omnipresent army in the cause of sweetness and light, armed with invincible weapons, assailing Philistinism everywhere, and putting it to flight by its own firesides, and in the very castles of its strength.

We have much remaining that we should like to say—to point out, for example, the sort of assistance which women might give in the momentous religious and political changes which are at present in progress; to dwell in some detail on the altered aspect of family life, when mothers could bind their children to them by the strong

chain of intellectual gratitude ; but our paper has run to such an inordinate length, that we fear to tax the patience of our readers any further, though half our promises are still unredeemed. We will therefore merely sum up in one or two sentences the points which the emancipators of women insist upon. They affirm that man and woman together are the complete humanity, but that to understand what that humanity is, you must give the same free scope for the development of the woman's nature which is afforded to the man's. And they maintain that a wider and more practical education would obtain for women a richer spiritual nature than they possess at present, and a wider reach of thought, which would be a new regenerating power introduced into a world at this time very sorely in need of it.

ART. IV.—THE NICOBAR ISLANDS.

Papers relating to the Nicobar Islands.—Selections from the Records of the Government of India, No. LXXVII.

THE Nicobar Islands, which comprise one of the most recent territorial acquisitions of the British Crown, have occupied from a very early period a prominent place in the records of Eastern travel. Situated as the Nicobars and the neighbouring Andamans are in the vicinity of an important track of commerce, we need not be surprised to find that in times long before the introduction of the mariner's compass, when navigation was—where possible—principally effected by sighting from point to point, navigators were compelled, though often perhaps unwillingly, on account of the known or reputed savage character of the inhabitants, to avail themselves of the shelter afforded by the harbours and bays of those islands. Thus, accounts of the inhabitants often deeply tinged with sensational Oriental romance, first became promulgated, and before noticing the papers republished under the above head, we propose to give some extracts from these old narratives.

It may be premised that in Hindú mythology these two groups of islands form seven piers of the bridge which Rama Chandra built for his expedition against Ravana.

The geographer Ptolomey, who flourished at Alexandria in the second century, evidently referring to their harbours of refuge, speaks of the Nicobars, Andamans and some others, collectively as *Insulæ bonæ fortunæ*.

To the Greeks the Andamans appear to have been known under the name *Eudamion*;* and were by them believed to be the residence of a good genius.

One of the earliest descriptive accounts of the Nicobars and Andamans is found in the Arabic work *Salsilātu-t Tawd-rikk*† by the merchant Soliman, with additions by Abu Zaidul-Hussan of Siraf; the first part by Soliman bears date A.H. 237 or A.D. 851, and the second by Abu Zaid A.H. 303, or A.D. 916.‡ The account in a re-translation§ of a translation of the original into French by M. Renaudot runs as follows :—

* *Asiatic Researches*, iii. 356.

† This work is not unfrequently incorrectly quoted as an account of India by two Muhammadan travellers. Abu Zaid, however, expressly states that he had not travelled himself. His share of the work was simply

confined to commenting on and illustrating by reference to other travellers Soliman's original work.

‡ See Sir H. Elliot's *History of India*, vol. i. p. 2.

§ Harris's *Voyages and Travels*.

"These Islands (Ceylon, &c.) separate the sea of Herkend from the Sea of Shalahet, and beyond them are others called *Naja-butus** (or Lendejabulous), which are pretty well occupied; both the men and women there go naked, except that the women conceal their private parts with the leaves of trees. When shipping is among these islands, the inhabitants come off in embarkations, and bring with them ambergris and cocoanuts, which they truck for iron, for they want no clothes, being free from the inconveniencies of heat or cold. Beyond these two islands lies the sea of Andaman. The people on this coast eat human flesh quite raw; their complexion is black, their hair frizzled, their countenance and eyes frightful, their feet are very large and almost a cubit in length, and they go quite naked. They have no sorts of barks or other vessels; if they had, they would seize and devour all the passengers they could lay hands on. When ships have been kept back by contrary winds, they are often in these seas obliged to drop anchor on this barbarous coast for the sake of water, when they have expended their stock. Upon these occasions they commonly lose some men."

In what has well been called a valuable repertory of Arabian sea-myths—the voyages of Sindbad the sailor—allusion appears to be made to both the Andamans and Nicobars. The voyages of Sindbad are best known as forming a part of the thousand and one nights' entertainment: they exist, however, in Arabic as a separate and independent work. "The Baron Walekemaer, in a paper in *Nouv. Ann. des Voyages* has claimed for this document an authenticity which it was previously not supposed to possess. He ascribes to the voyages of Sindbad a date about coincident with that of Soliman, or the beginning of the 9th century."†

Whether Sindbad existed or not may be open to doubt, but it is certain that the adventures ascribed to him embody the actual knowledge of the places alluded to, which was possessed by the Arabs at that time. Like Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, the account of Sindbad's voyages was in all probability founded on fact. But while the former only dealt in possibilities; in the latter, in deference to Arabic taste, unrestrained use is made of giants and satyrs, magicians and rocs, and all the other paraphernalia of the most extravagant eastern chimeras.

In the following extract from Sindbad's third voyage there can be little doubt that the Andaman Islands are referred to. Having been compelled by a tempest to anchor close to an island, which

* Called *Nājībān* in a Turkish work on navigation. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. v. p. 157. † See *India in the 15th Century*, Hakluyt Soc. 1857. Introduction.

the captain said was inhabited by hairy savages who would speedily attack them, Sindbad found the prediction soon fulfilled;—"An innumerable multitude of frightful savages, covered all over with red hair and about two feet high,* came swimming towards us and encompassed the ship, &c."† The rest of the account launches into romance about Cyclopiian giants and palaces with ebony doors.

In his fourth voyage Sindbad visited the island of Nacous, in some editions called the Isle of Bells, situated ten days' sail from Serendip or Ceylon: this, it seems probable, was one of the Nicobars.

In the *Jamīu-t-tawarikh* of Rashidu-d Din, who wrote in A.H. 710, or A.D. 1310, what is confessedly copied from the original by Abu Rihan al Biruni who lived A.D. 970-1039, the following passage occurs:—

"Opposite Lámúri (a district of Sumatra) is the island of Lakmaram (Nocue-cran-Nicobar), which produces plenty of red amber (ambergris); men and women go naked, except that the latter cover the pudenda with cocoanut leaves. They are all subjects to the Ká-án" (Emperor of China).‡

In the period from 1271 to 1295 Marco Polo wrote:—

"About 150 miles from Lambri (or Lamúri) sailing northwards, are two islands, one called Nocueran in which the inhabitants live like beasts, and are not under the government of a king; they all go naked, both men and women, and worship idols. They have excellent trees, cloves, sanders (sandal?), red and white, Indian nuts (cocoanuts), Brazil, and other spices. The other Angaman are savages as the former, and where I was told they had dogs' heads and teeth."§

It will be observed that Marco Polo gives the above as hearsay accounts, and not as the result of his own observations. They represent some of the prevalent ideas regarding these islands and their inhabitants, which are perhaps scarcely yet dissipated; certainly they were believed far and wide, until the end of the last century, when the Indian Government established its first settlement in the Andamans.

The next mention of either of these groups of islands belongs to a period about 150 years later, when Nicolo Conti, a Venetian of noble family, visited India:—

* The Andamanese islanders of the present day are remarkable for their small stature. It is a common custom with them to adorn their bodies with red clay.

† *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. London, 1866.

‡ *History of India* by Sir H Elliot. vol. i. p. 71.

§ *Travels of Marco Polo*. This passage is variously translated in different editions.

"From Sumatra he sailed for the space of twenty days with a favourable wind, leaving on his right hand an island called Andamania, which means the Island of Gold, the circumference of which is eight hundred miles. * The inhabitants are cannibals. No travellers touch here unless driven so to do by bad weather, for, when taken, they are torn to pieces and devoured by these cruel savages."

The author does not make particular reference to the Nicobars. The curious and apparently unfounded idea as to gold occurring in the Andaman islands, got into circulation again in the year 1839, when a Russian savant, Dr. Helfer, at that time in the employ of the Indian Government, visited the islands to prosecute a search for it. Being attacked, he was shamefully abandoned by his Lascar crew, and fell a victim to the savages.

The next traveller to the Nicobars of whom we have any record, was Keeping, a Swede :—

"In the year 1647 he went to the East Indies on board a Dutch ship which anchored off the Nicobar Islands. He relates that they discovered men with tails like those of cats, and which they moved in the same manner ; that having sent a boat on shore with five men, who did not return at night as expected, the day following a larger boat was sent well-manned, in quest of their companions, who, it was supposed, had been devoured by the savages, their bones having been found strewed on the shore, the boat taken to pieces, and the iron of it carried away.—The account of this voyage was reprinted at Stockholm by Silvium in the year 1743."

Nicolas Fontana adds to this quaint account the still more quaint remark :—"Linnaeus seems to have been too credulous in believing this man's story, for in all my examinations I could discover no projection whatever on the *os coccygis* of either sex. What has given rise to this supposed tail may have been the strip of cloth hanging down from their posteriors, which, when viewed from a distance, might probably have been mistaken for a tail."

In the year 1669 a Spanish Father named Dominic Fernandez, when on a voyage from Malacca to Madras, touched at the Nicobars. His account, translated into English, is given in Harris's *Voyages and Travels* as follows :—

"On the first of March 1669, after sunsetting, the wind blew terribly, and we being just ready to pass between two of the islands of Nicobar, the pilot was afraid and backed his sails so that we lost way every moment. The second of the said month, as we sailed betwixt the said islands, several boats came out to us with fresh provisions. Our people dealt for hens, cocoas, plantains, and some amber (ambergris ?) for old rags. The vessels were extraordinary fine ; some had thirty oars, and rowed to the

"admiration of us all. The people were somewhat black and had red hair, which is wonderful; among them that rowed there were women, all naked saving just before and behind where they had some dirty rags. As they said aboard our ships, those people were so warlike that they had boarded a Dutch ship. It is certain they devour the Europeans they catch alive, as near as they can (*sic*). The pilot told me there was a strange well in an island we saw there; whatever is put into it, whether iron, copper or wood, comes out gilt. I do not remember whether that gilding is lasting, but it is very remarkable. The weapons those people use are their oars, which we saw were very sharp pointed; the wood is very hard—I believe they will strike through a mud wall."

Captain William Dampier was compelled to leave a mutinous crew, and land on one of the Nicobar Islands in 1688. Thence he made a voyage to Sumatra in a canoe. His account of the Nicobarese is quite free from the fictitious elements so abundant both in the preceding and many subsequent narratives. He says:—

"May 1st.—We ran down by the north-west end of Sumatra, directing our course to the Nicobar Islands; we got sight of a cluster of islands lying south of the Andaman Islands on the 4th. The most southerly of them is called the Nicobar, lying four leagues N. W. from the N. W. end of Sumatra. The inhabitants trade promiscuously with all the European nations, their chief commodities being ambergris and fruits.

"May 5th.—We anchored in a small bay at the north-west end of the isle of Nicobar, properly so called, in eight fathom water; its length is twelve leagues, the breadth four. It produces plenty of cocoas and malloris, a fruit of the bigness of the bread fruit at Guam, which the natives boil in water in covered jars. The inhabitants are straight-limbed, long visaged, with black eyes and well proportioned noses; their hair is lank and black; their complexion of a copper colour. The women have no eyebrows; I suppose they pulled them out, because the men did not like them. The men wear only a kind of sash round their middle, and the women nothing but a petticoat from the waist to the knees. Their language has some words of Malayan and Portuguese in it, and their habitations are built upon posts near the seaside, but I could find no settled government among them. Their canoes were flat on one side, with outlayers like those of Guam."

In a Dutch work published at Amsterdam in 1760 there is a brief account of the Andamans and Nicobars. The former are represented as being inhabited by giants and cannibals. A highly sensational plate represents them fighting with the Dutch, and

cutting up those whom they have killed into quarters with all the skill of experienced butchers.

In the volume of "*Selections*" before us, the papers, with one or two exceptions, belong to the present century. As a whole, they furnish a fair, but in some respects incomplete, account of the Nicobar Islands, the manners, customs, language and history of the inhabitants, the zoology, botany and geology, and the history of the settlements which have from time to time been established in them. The authors belong to three classes, missionaries, men of science, and navigators, so that some of the subjects are treated from very different points of view.

In directing the re-publication of these papers, the Indian Government has placed within the reach of those to whom is entrusted the important duty of civilizing the inhabitants and developing the resources of these islands, a most valuable manual, which cannot fail to be of infinite value to all engaged in that most interesting work.

The islands composing the Nicobar group are included between $92^{\circ} 35'$ & $93^{\circ} 40'$ meridians of E. long. and $6^{\circ} 40'$ & $9^{\circ} 20'$ parallels of N. latitude. There are nine principal islands and ten small ones; the total area has been estimated at about 544 nautical square miles, or 735 English square miles. Of this but a small portion is inhabited; the villages being confined to the narrow strip of cocoanut plantations which encircles the islands, except where it is interrupted by steep rocks overhanging the sea or by the mangrove swamps, which occur at the head of most of the deep indentations of the coast-line and at the mouths of creeks.

Different accounts vary in the names by which the several islands have been known from time to time, but the following appear to be authentic and commonly accepted at the present day:—Kār Nicobar, Tillangschong, Teresa, Comorta, Nancowrey, Trinkut, Kūthāl, Little Nicobar, Great Nicobar (Laoi of the natives), are the large islands; and Batty Malve, Chowry, Bumbūka, Morowè, Track, Treis, Milu, Monthoule, Kondul, Kabra, the small. The whole group is known to the natives by the name Sambilang or Champalūn. Of the above, two only, Batty Malve and Tillangschong, are uninhabited. According to some accounts, however, the latter is occasionally used as a Siberia for those who have made themselves objectionable. Dr. Rink thinks the story may have arisen from the barren rocky appearance which the island presents to passers-by. The absence of fixed residents is probably due to the steep sides which prevent cocoanut cultivation, but it is sometimes visited by the inhabitants of the other islands, who go there to collect swallows' nests.

As a rule, the islands are hilly. On the Great Nicobar some of the hills rise, it is said, to the height of 2,000 feet; one near

the shore, measured by Captain Lewis, was ascertained by him to be 1,575 feet above the sea. In the middle and northern islands the hills rarely exceed 250 or 300 feet, and are generally much under that height. Contrary to what might be expected from the known vicinity of the Nicobars to a line of volcanic activity, these hills do not generally, so far as they have been examined, show any sign of being connected with recent eruptive forces. Even the very volcanic-looking island of Bumbuka* is considered by Dr. Rink to be of doubtful volcanic origin, and the same is Dr. Hochstoker's opinion with regard to the highest hill on the Great Nicobar.† The existence of the Nicobars is due, as has been pointed out by the last mentioned author, to a widely extended elevation of the earth's crust which is well marked by the Arracan range, the Alguada reef, the Cocos, Andamans, Nicobars, Sumatra, Java, and so on.

Throughout these papers there are various notices regarding the climate; the most complete are those by Dr. Rink, whose observations extend over a period of two months. He estimates the annual mean temperature at 82° F. In the Novara account it is placed at 77° F. Though showers are seldom wanting for many days together, the year is divisible into wet and dry seasons. The total rainfall is estimated by Dr. Rink as being about 100 inches. The north-east monsoon prevails from December to March. The hottest days however occur in April and May. The variation of temperature from day to night, especially in the south-west monsoon, is slight. The stagnation of the air in the dense forests, where it becomes impregnated with noxious exhalations from the damp ground and rotting vegetation, is the principal cause of the fevers for which the Nicobars have become infamous; the insidious malaria enters into the system, but often does not produce any effect for days or even weeks, when at length it breaks out with great violence, often when the islands have been left hundreds of miles behind. The cyclones which sweep the Bay of Bengal, generally take their rise in the vicinity of the Andamans; consequently the Nicobars are out of the range of their influence.

The population of the islands has been variously estimated; probably it does not exceed 5,000.‡ Most of the islands, but especially those of the southern portion of the group, are thinly inhabited. This is particularly the case in the Little Nicobar, where, it is said, there are no regular villages. The natives object to being counted; the French missionaries could only form a rough

* Vide figure, p. 166.

‡ The Rev. M. Chopard estimates

† The nearest known volcanoes are those of Barren Island and Narkondam, it at 8,000.

estimate—from 500 (p. 68) to 700 (p. 19)—of the population of Teresa where they resided. The island of Kar Nicobar has the largest population. Nicolas Fontana says regarding the people generally:—"They are themselves so sensible of the scanty population of their islands that they study to increase it by inviting, and even seducing, some Malabars or Bengalese to remain amongst them when brought by country ships, and of whom there are in almost all villages some to be found, who may easily be discerned from the natives by their figure, features, colour and language. The natives encourage their stay by grants of land with plantations of cocoanut trees and arecas; and after a certain number of years they are permitted to make choice of a female companion."

This statement requires confirmation. It is certain that the natives are everywhere most hostile to the formation of any settlement by Europeans;* whom they however respect, as they believe them to be endowed with magical powers over the wind and rain, which enable them to command them at pleasure. It is no less certain that they hate Malays, and despise the people of most other countries whose ships touch at their islands.

The appearance of the Nicobarese has been described in most of the papers published, but perhaps in none is the description more truthful than that by Nicolas Fontana:—

"The inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands are of a copper colour, with small eyes obliquely cut,—what in ours is white (the sclerotic) being in theirs yellowish; with small flat noses, large mouths, thick lips and black teeth; well proportioned in their bodies, rather short than tall, and with large ears, in the lobes of which they pierce holes in which they place cylindrical ear-ornaments; they have black, strong hair cut round (or, as is often the case, it is allowed to grow into long glossy black tresses which hang upon the shoulders); the men have little or no beard; the hinder part of their head is much flatter and more compressed than ours; they never cut their nails, but they shave their eyebrows." In a note it is added:—"It is a custom among them to compress with their hands the occiput of the new-born child in order to render it flat, as, according to their ideas, this kind of shape constitutes a mark of beauty, and is universally esteemed such by them; by this method also they say that the hair remains close to the head as nature intended it, and the upper fore-teeth very prominent out of the mouth."

Their costume of the present day consists of a narrow strip of cloth which is tightly bound about the loins:† formerly, it is said,

they used to wear either leaves or a fabric manufactured from cocoanut fibre; but the material for the simple garment now worn is obtained from traders in exchange. They are extremely fond of European clothing, which they only wear, however, when visiting ships. Tall black silk hats are the most highly esteemed articles with them; they will readily barter several thousand cocoanuts for what we should consider "a shocking bad hat." In some of the houses, a silk hat, antiquated in shape and well bronzed by time, may be seen reverentially placed as a family heir-loom in immediate proximity with the *Penates*.

Most of those natives who come in contact with Europeans are known by English names, bestowed upon them by the captains of vessels trading at the islands. In addition to ordinary English surnames, some of these naked savages answer to the honoured titles of Lord Nelson, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Byron, &c., while others, judging from their appearance, are much more appropriately known as GARROTTER, OED-IAT, &c.

The houses are thus described by the Rev. J. G. Haenſel :—

"They are generally spacious, and built upon pillars six or more feet from the ground, resembling those of the Malays, but round (bee-hive-shape), not square like the latter. The inhabitants ascend by a ladder, which they can draw up after them. The house has only one room, but generally contains more than one family. Parents and children, guests, young and old, of every description, pig here together, lying naked on the floor, with nothing but a *hesut*, the leaf of a species of a palm under them in lieu of a mat-trass; and very few have any covering.* The furniture of such a house consists of a few pots, some highly polished cocoanut vessels for water, some hatchets, a sabre or two, a few sailors' knives, and a good many spears and harpoons."

Opposite the entrance, there is a place set apart for the cooking operations. Often at the entrance there is a wooden figure of a man—from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ life size—the tutelary deity of the place, and some models of gar fish and various devices made out of the petioles of palm leaves and the glumes of bamboos are suspended from the roof. The floor is made either of planks, well polished and supplied with diagonal holes to permit of the betel saliva being dropped down, or of slips of bamboo which are light and springy under foot. As a rule the interiors are neat and clean, and pleasantly cool when contrasted with the glaring sand below. The villages rarely include a dozen houses each; generally they are situated on the beach above high water-mark, but in some cases are supported on posts driven into the water, at the tops of the bays or mouths of estuaries.

* They have improved in this respect within the last few years.

The canoes are very light. They are supported by an outrigger, without which, owing to their small draft, they would capsize : they are worked by two men with paddles.

The Nicobarese are of a very sluggish, lethargic temperament. Probably, if quite disconnected from the outer world by a cessation of commerce, their lives would be passed in besotted gratification of their appetites, without a single event occurring to mark the progress of time. Although they are sensualists, to whom unnatural crimes are not unknown,* treacherous and cowardly murderers and confirmed drunkards, their characters are not wholly devoid of redeeming points, as we shall presently notice. Regarding their immorality, the Rev. J. G. Haensel (and similarly other authorities) writes :—

“Both sexes live from their infancy without any restraint, and commit every kind of abomination, often to the utter ruin of their health and constitutions in very early life. In general they do not live regularly in the married state till they are past their prime; though I have known some who had married early remain faithful to each other, and keep their families in good order.”

According to Mr. C. Hamilton, the Kar-Nicobarese would appear to have a better moral character than those of the other islands. The punishment for adultery with them is severe and effectual. Amongst the inhabitants of the islands generally, theft is said to be uncommon; repeated commissions of the crime, if proper and full restitution be not made, is punished by death.

In reference to the good points in their character, we have the following testimony :—

“The Nicobarese have the character, amongst the English “skippers and other traders, of great honesty and promptitude in their transactions.” (Busch’s Journal, p. 2). “I do not believe they are naturally cruel and fond of spilling the blood of their fellow-creatures. They have an aversion for such a deed; yet cupidity, or the desire of procuring things they are fond of, can prevail upon the inhabitants of the southern islands to commit murder.” (Rev. J. M. Chopard, p. 71). “The Nicobarians are hospitable and honest, and are remarkable for a strict observance of truth, and for punctuality in adhering to their engagements, but they do not want spirit to revenge their injuries, and will fight resolutely and slay their enemies if attacked or unjustly dealt with” (Lt. R. H. Colebrooke, p. 108). “In their intercourse with foreigners the Nicobarians do not shew any particular inclination towards cheating.” (Rink, p. 180).

The missionaries speak of the Nicobarese, not only as being most liberal to them when they had exhausted their supply of

* p. 75.

articles for exchange and were consequently in want of food,* but also as being courageous in protecting them and their property from an attack by a wild crew of cut-throat Malays, the account of which is too long for insertion here.†

Many of the natives hold certificates or letters from captains of trading or government vessels which have touched at the islands from time to time. It is the usual custom to produce these to every new arrival. Some of these documents testify to the trustworthiness of the bearers, but others are not so complimentary; doubtless the holders would be less ready to exhibit them, were they acquainted with their contents.

The women are somewhat smaller than the men, but are robust and strong; they possess considerable influence in the management of affairs, whether domestic or otherwise. If the accounts be true, they do not hesitate to inflict severe corporal punishment on their spouses. Dr. Rink says:—

“I have reason to believe that they even occasionally exercise palpable authority over the men, and that a closer view of their matrimonial life would shew that the respect of these people towards the fair sex did not, strictly speaking, originate in the free-will of the men, and is not, therefore, to be considered a virtue.”

The Nicobarese appear to be utterly destitute of any generally recognised laws or forms of Government. In every village they have a Captain, but his powers are extremely limited, as the following passage will shew:—

“No one is obliged to obey him (the *Omjah Karru* or great master of the house), for all of them, male and female, consider themselves under no control whatever; and the Captain must take care that he does not offend by pretending to command. He is sure to be disobeyed unless they are pleased to listen to friendly representation. All the preference given him consists in this,—that when a ship arrives, he is allowed to go first on board, and to make a bargain if they have anything to barter. They are commonly good-natured men, disposed to make and preserve peace among the common people. In every other respect they live and act like the rest. * * * * But they can use their tongues more glibly than their neighbours.”

The disputes which sometimes arise between inhabitants of neighbouring villages are generally settled in the following manner:—

“A village invaded (by devils) sends a challenge to the one from which they have been ejected, and a day is fixed for the battle. The Captains of all the neighbouring villages having met

* P. 43.

† Pp. 50-53.

"in consultation, the combatants are chosen, and as there are others who wish to take advantage of so just a mode of settling their disputes, they are summoned to appear; one has stolen something, another run off with his neighbour's wife, and the like. All these people now meet, both the injured and the guilty, and each being provided with a sufficient supply of sticks, they proceed to the place of rendezvous. There the Captains examine the sticks, and those that are too thick are thrown away. This being done, two of the combatants step out, and lay about each other's back and head till one is obliged to give up. A second couple follow, and after them others, till in a proper space of time the whole company has got a good drubbing. The most innocent among them are generally the worst handled; however, the business is now decided, and all are convinced that whoever was first obliged to give up, was the offender. Peace is thus restored, both parties being perfectly satisfied with so just and wise a decision."

A recent newspaper paragraph informed us "that the provisions of the Indian Penal Code had been extended to the Nicobars." We must confess to looking forward with some curiosity to the results of its operation upon people who have hitherto been so lawless as the Nicobarese.

There seems to be some obscurity as to what the religious beliefs of these people may be; but authorities are unanimous in asserting that they have no idea of a supreme beneficent and divine Being, and no efforts of the missionaries succeeded in guiding them to a conception of His existence. In the ordinary sense of the word they cannot be considered idolators.* Their principal belief is in the existence of evil spirits of many kinds, but which have one character in common—malevolence towards the human race. Their *Paters*, *Minlovens* or *Malwes*, as they are variously called, occupy the three-fold positions of priests, wizards and physicians, in each of which capacities the powers of these pluralists over evil spirits, aided by a considerable amount of sleight of hand, are brought into play. Under their system of treatment the evil spirit causing sickness is made to assume the tangible form of a pumpkin, a stone, a cocoanut or other common object, and is then apparently extracted from the body of the patient who is straight-

* Regarding the religion of the inhabitants of the Great Nicobar, we find the following on page 55 :—

"Tout ce que j'ai pu connaître de la religion des Nicobarins, c'est qu'ils adorent la lune, et qu'ils craignent fort les démons dont ils ont quelque grossière idée." This view in reference to the moon is not

confirmed by other writers. But it would appear that eclipses inspire the natives with great alarm for the safety of the sun or moon as the case may be, and that they believe it requires their most elaborate incantations to induce the evil spirit to cease from devouring the heavenly orb.

way requested to consider himself much better, if not positively quite recovered.

In spite of various modes of propitiation and every effort to keep them at a distance, it is found that evil spirits manage to find their way into villages; one causing sickness, another forcing a man to commit murder or some other crime, and so on until matters become so unbearable that it is determined to force the devils to take their departure. To facilitate this, a canoe or raft is prepared; the *Minloven* by his gesticulations, and howlings drives the terrified devils on board; the raft is then quickly taken out to sea and cast adrift. If within two days it should happen to come on shore near another village, and the devil be in this manner transferred to the neighbours, this is made a *casus belli*, and the injury is effaced by a combat as described above.

The great abundance and variety of food possessed by the Nicobarese is a most unfortunate circumstance for those who may attempt their civilization; utterly independent as they can be of all external supplies, the *argumentum ad ventrem* so useful for taming savages, whether man or beast, cannot be applied to them. Their principal articles of food are—pigs, fowls, crocodiles, turtle, fish, crustaceans, mollusca (principally species of *tredacna*, or clams), murex and cysters, cocoanuts, which supply both meat and drink; mellori which is the fruit of a species of *Pandanus* or screw pine; a farina prepared from the fruit of a cycad, to which may be added yams: besides these, there are said to be a number of such fruits as plantains, papayahs, mangosteens, jack and bread fruit, shaddocks or pumelows, limes, sugar-canes, with nutmegs, cardamums, areca and betel. Some of these are cultivated in gardens, but the natives are far too lazy to give themselves much trouble in the matter. Even the cocoanuts, which they regard as their staple and which supply them with their principal medium of exchange, are greatly neglected, the trees being allowed to crush one another and to be enveloped below with jungly undergrowth.

Whether they at any time added human flesh to their *cuisine* is doubtful. Most of the early accounts, though they speak of both Nicobarese and Andamanese as cannibals, are so profusely adorned with obvious fables, that credence cannot be readily accorded to any of the statements which they contain.

That the idea of cannibalism is not altogether unknown to the natives, would appear from the fact that when some of them were reproved by the missionaries for having murdered several people, they justified their action by replying:—"You do not understand, those were people not fit to live, they were *gomoy* or cannibals."

Of the Chinese dainties, *trepang* (Holothurias), and birds' nests which are collected on their coasts, it is said the Nicobarese do not themselves make any use.

The diseases to which the Nicobarese are principally subject are fever, colic, cough and elephantiasis; notwithstanding their gluttonous habits, skin diseases are not common.

In nearly all the accounts allusion is made to the severity of the fevers which attack, and not unfrequently prove fatal to Europeans. In reference to the Danish mission to the Nicobars, which was undertaken in 1758, we are told:—

“During the comparatively short period of the existence of the mission, eleven worthy missionaries found their graves in Nancowry, and thirteen more shortly after their return to Tranquebar, in consequence of the malignant fevers and obstructions in the liver, contracted in the island.”

Dr. Schwarz, in his medical report, argues that the unhealthiness of the Nicobars has been much exaggerated; undoubtedly the mortality amongst the missionaries was in a great measure due to their privations, want of suitable food and medicines, and hard toil, as well as to the despondency arising from their hopeless task. In no indistinct terms, however, the last named authority condemns the locality—Nancowry harbour, chosen by former colonists, and which, in spite of all such warnings, has been again selected for the new settlement by the Indian Government. He considers as most suitable sites for colonies the islands of Kar-Nicobar, Pulo Milu, and Kondul.

The manufactures of the Nicobarese are of a rude and primitive kind, and (as not including weaving) insufficient for their actual wants. In basket-making, wood carving and house-building they show their greatest skill; sometimes they work up silver into ornaments, but they do not show any particular proficiency in this respect. Their weapons are spears, harpoons, and European-made axes and knives. Earthen pots for cooking are made on the island of Chowry, whence they are carried to the other islands for barter, where a peculiar superstition prevents the people from attempting the manufacture.

The principal natural production of the island is the cocoanut, to obtain which a considerable number of vessels, English, Malay, Burmese, Chinese, and a few from the Coromandel Coast and Chittagong, visit the islands annually. A special trade is carried on in birds' nests and *trepang* or sea slug, but these productions are chiefly collected on the shores, and prepared by the Malay crews of the vessels and not by the natives themselves. Small quantities of ambergris and tortoise-shell are also obtained by the traders. All these productions are given in exchange for various articles, such as cloth, silver coins and ornaments, iron, hatchets, cutlasses and knives, tobacco, rum, red woollen caps, and tall black silk hats. In most of the islands these recognised articles represent a certain number of cocoanuts. The writer saw some

Kling traders on the island of Trinkut, whose wares for exchange, consisted of coarse cloths, small squares of looking-glass, whistles, packets of sugar, biscuits, and similar rubbish.

Allowing for the value of the articles exchanged, it is said that the cocoanuts can be obtained for about one-sixth of their cost in India, so that for small native vessels the trade is a profitable one, and would doubtless have been overcrowded had not the Nicobarese made themselves notorious as treacherous murderers. Previous to 1833, a number of vessels which had set out for the Nicobars were missed, and it was supposed had been wrecked, but the murderous attacks upon vessels in that and subsequent years suggested that some of the crews of the lost ships might have fallen victims to the natives, and not to the waves. Of those attacks of which we have any record, either from members of the crews who succeeded in escaping or from eye-witnesses on the island, it appears that though some were directly due to misconduct on the part of the crews, others were wholly unprovoked, and are attributable only to the cupidity of the natives. As information of these piracies reached the authorities, vessels of war or gun-boats were sent by Government to make enquiries, but without any particular result, until the murder of the crew of the *Futteh Islam* in October 1866, and the report that one or more white women with some children were held in captivity in the Islands, gave rise to the proceedings which have led to their annexation by the Indian Government.

The Nicobarese language appears to have a remote connection with some of the dialects spoken in the Malay Archipelago. The facility with which the Nicobarese talk ordinary Malay shows that they find no difficulty in articulating it, and that there is therefore probably a general resemblance between the two languages. A few words of evident Portuguese and English origin are in common use. The volume of *Selections* contains six different vocabularies of the language of the central islands; between these there is often great difference. In some cases the non-agreement is evidently due to the different nationalities of the compilers, and the peculiarities of transliteration adopted by them respectively. It is to be hoped that we may, ere long, be placed in possession of an amended vocabulary and some sketch of the grammatical structure of the language.

With minor differences and certain reservations, the general conclusion drawn by most of the authors is that the Nicobarese are a Malayan race. M. Chabod, however, concludes that they are of Hindu (Indian ?) origin rather than Malay or Burman; but his description of them as having aquiline noses, well proportioned bodies, and exceeding Malays and Burmese in stature, suggests the possibility that the people he came in contact with were not true Nicobarese, but descendants from some colony of an Indian race;

certainly an aquiline form of nose is of most rare occurrence amongst the true Nicobarese.

It has been recently suggested* that the Nicobarese may be descendants of Malays, who must have immigrated before the close of the 13th century when the Muhaimmadan creed was spread over the neighbouring islands of Malacca, Sumatra, &c. That this immigration took place much earlier, is rendered probable, not only by the fact that the early description of the 9th century, quoted above, represents the Nicobars as being inhabited by a people with some of the characteristics of the present race, but by the fact that the latter do not appear at any time to have reached to even such a degree of social advancement as existed amongst the Malays of Sumatra in the 11th and 12th centuries.

The race described in the preceding pages is the only one which has been met with by European visitors to the islands; but from native accounts it would appear that the true aboriginal Nicobarese race is not yet extinct. From several distinct notices in the papers before us, we learn that in the interior of the Great Nicobar there is a race of black savages with curly hair who go perfectly naked: they possess bows and arrows and wooden spears, sleep on trees, and eat reptiles, roots, fruits, and whatever they can steal from the natives of the coast, with whom they are at warfare and by whom they are called *Orang-utang* or forest-men. Little doubt can exist from the above description that this race is the same as the Mincopies or Andamanese, who, it is probable, at one time inhabited all the islands of the Nicobar group, but were driven into the hills and forests in the southern, and totally exterminated in the northern, islands by the Malay immigrants.

The fauna of the Nicobar Islands is as yet imperfectly known, at least so we must infer from the small number of species of mammals, birds, fishes and reptiles, which have been collected hitherto as compared with the numbers known to exist in the—in many respects similar—islands of the Malayan Archipelago.

In the volume under review, omitting the stray notices which occur in some of the papers, the only accounts of the fauna are by Mr. Blyth and Dr. Rink. Our knowledge of the subject is not, however, confined to these, as the results of the investigations of the naturalists who accompanied the Novara expedition, have been published in Vienna; and within the present year several papers on the fauna of the Nicobars have been contributed to the pages of the Asiatic Society's *Journal*.

The known indigenous mammals are monkeys, of the species *Macacus Cynomologus*, which are also found on the neighbouring

* Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, January 1870.

coasts. They are described as being very injurious to the cocoanut plantations, as they bite off the young fruit to obtain the water from them. They are found on Kar-Nicobar, Kutchall and the southern islands, but are said not to survive if brought to the central islands, Camorta and Nancowry. A larger species which Mr. Blyth takes to be a *Presbytis*, was seen by Captain Lewis. Bats of several species have been observed and collected. Three species have been identified by Mr. Blyth. The Rev. J. G. Haensel in one of his letters (p. 39) speaks of having seen some "whose outstretched wings measured from five to six feet across the back, the body "being the size of a common cat."

Rats and mice, and a species belonging to the *muziniæ*, also occur.

Cetaceæ of the species known to exist in the Bay of Bengal, are found near the coast.

Of introduced animals there are the following;—wild cattle and buffaloes, pigs and dogs. As to the wild cattle, the fact of their occurrence on the island of Camorta alone, at once connects them with the old Danish settlements on that island, and seems to be in itself strong evidence in favour of their having been introduced. According to the Rev. J. G. Haensel, they occur on more than one island, though the other authorities on the subject limit them to Camorta. He writes:—

"In some of the islands are large herds of buffaloes and other cattle, originally brought thither by the Danes, but which have run wild since the abandonment of the colony. They have increased prodigiously, and as the upper regions of the mountains are covered with vast quantities of fine grass, they find food in abundance and grow to a large size, especially the buffaloes. These are always seen in herds, and I never ventured to shoot any, though I longed to procure some of their flesh for our use."

Dr. Rink speaks of having seen their footprints in 1845, but it is doubtful whether they still exist. The writer of this paper visited Comorta a few months after the formation of the settlement, but nothing had been heard of them up to that time by the officers of the settlement, and from the natives no very definite information on the subject could be obtained.

The pigs are semi-wild; they are believed to be derived from a Chinese race. The Rev. W. Barbe writes:—

"They are let loose in the jungle; the owner calls them every day by striking on a plank with a stick; on their hearing the noise, they run instantly in the direction of the shed where the cocoanuts are kept. After they have fared on the allowance, which consists of two cocoanuts for each, they return to the forest."

These pigs are killed by the Nicobarese with spears, which they hurl at them from behind trees.

The dogs resemble the Indian and Burmese pariahs, and, like them, are wretched noisy curs. We must be content to write their origin as *unknown*.

The number of species of birds which have been found in the Nicobars does not amount to fifty. It is difficult to believe that this represents a third or even a fourth of the species which actually exist. *Prima facie* the varied conditions of high hills and low beaches, dense jungle and grassy downs, coupled with the great abundance of fruits, are such as to justify one in the expectation of finding a rich avifauna.* As known, this avifauna is characterised, as is that of the adjoining islands, by a large proportion of pigeons; about six or seven species are known. Some of these, as *Carpophaga insularis* (Blyth) and *C. Myristicivora* (Scop.) occur in large flocks, and few of the accounts of the islands omit to mention them, the more especially as they not unfrequently supply an acceptable addition to the mess of those who visit the islands. The Nicobar pigeon, *par excellence Colaptes Nicobarica* (Linn.), is justly renowned for its great beauty; being a bad flier, it is chiefly confined to the small islands where it can feed unmolested on the fallen fruits. Of parrots there are several peculiar species, which generally congregate in large flocks.

Among the other birds are orioles, thrushes, kingfishers, &c., and the peculiar mound-maker, *Megapodius Nicobariensis* (Blyth). From its anomalous appearance this bird has been a puzzle to many. Like others of the *Megapodidæ* with its powerful feet it scrapes together mounds of rubbish in which to lay its eggs, which are ultimately hatched by the heat produced by the decomposition of the vegetable matter, and the chick, it is said, is born fully fledged, and able to take care of itself independently of its parents.

The edible nests, which are produced by a species of swallow *Collocalia fuciphaga* (Thunb), are of common occurrence. Both birds and nests are carefully described in several of the papers. The Rev. Mr. Haensel writes:—"My opinion is that the nests are made of the gum of a peculiar tree called by some the Nicobar cedar, and growing in great abundance in all the southern islands. Its wood is hard, black, and very heavy. From December to May it is covered with blossom, and bears a fruit somewhat resembling a cedar or pineapple (*sic*), but more like a large berry full of eyes or pustules, discharging a gum or resinous fluid. About these trees, when in bloom or bearing fruit, I have seen innumerable flocks of these little birds flying and fluttering like bees round a tree or shrub in full flower, and am of opinion that they there gather the materials for their nests."

* In the Celebes, according to Mr. Wallace, there are 128 species, and in the Moluccas 255 species of birds.

What amount of credence is to be placed in this story, or rather the inference from it, it is difficult to determine. It would effectually overturn the long-held belief in the bird building its nest from substances collected in the sea, possibly fucoids, whence the name *fuciphaga*.

Among Nicobar reptiles and batrachians there are crocodiles, according to Mr. Haensel, of two distinct species; they are said to be most abundant on Kar Nicobar, Katchall and the southern islands. Snakes are abundant, vipers of the genus *Tiemeresurus* are especially common; their bite, though it causes great pain, is not always fatal.* Large pythons have been seen, and turtle are found on the coast. Frogs of several species are found in the jungles.

Regarding the fishes, these papers contain but little exact information; there are some remarks on the subject by Mr. Blyth and Dr. Rink. Fish, of whatever species they may be, are however abundant. The natives, who despise the use of hooks and nets, principally obtain them by spearing by torchlight.

Of animals belonging to the lower classes, such as insects, mollusca, crustacea, &c., there is a great abundance, of which it is impossible to give even a brief account; suffice it to say that no naturalist or collector of objects of natural history can possibly be disappointed in the Nicobars.

Of the flora, we have amongst these papers a most admirable account by J. Diedrichsen, Esq., translated by Dr. N. Wallich. In some of the other papers, more particularly that by Dr. Rink, a good deal of information on the same subject is also contained.

Taking a general view of the physical character of these islands, nothing is more interesting than to observe the manner in which the flora, and probably also the fauna, are influenced by the geological structure. In the northern islands the surface for the most part is hidden by a crust of absorbent meerschaum-like clay, which is only able to support some dry grasses, or a fern (*gleichenia*) scattered about, in which are clusters of a species of *pandanus* or screw pine, and the graceful areca palm (*A. nibong*).

Wherever heavy jungle does exist on these islands, it is found to be supported either by a soil derived from the decomposition of the plutonic or igneous rocks or by vegetable humus, which has been gradually accumulated in the valleys.

The southern islands and Kutchall being formed of sandstones which yield a fertile soil, are covered with a primeval forest of densely packed and lofty trees. All the islands are, for the most part, surrounded by belts of ground formed of coral and debris thrown up from the sea, and brought down from the hills by streams. As might be expected, the soil so produced is exceedingly fertile, and it

* See page 60.

is within this belt that most of the cultivation of the natives, including that of the cocoanuts, is carried on. These belts are not continuous, being frequently interrupted by mangrove swamps, which always occur where the conditions are unfavourable to the accumulation of coral fragments.

The vegetation then may be classified under six heads which vary with the character of the soil: these are the mangrove forest, cocoa-palm forest, large forest trees, *pandanus* forest, grassy plains and jungle (the true primeval forest).

Although the cocoas owe their present abundance very much to the fact of their being cared for and planted out by the natives, still there is good ground for believing that they are really indigenous; at the same time, though they grow and thrive on the Andamans in the vicinity of Port Blair, where they have been planted, they have never been found growing wild in any part of those islands. There is a peculiar variety of coconut, the fruits of which contain a solid kernel, which occasionally occurs in the Nicobars. The natives are said to pay particular attention to the trees bearing these fruits.*

Banian trees (*Ficus Indica*, Roxb.) of large size occur in the forests; owing to the crowding by other trees, their size is principally developed in an upward direction. On the island of Trico, however, there was said to be in 1845 a tree which covered a space of ground a third of a mile in circumference. There are also several other species of *Ficus*. Species of *Terminalia*, *Bauhinia*, *Barringtonia*, *Casuarina*, and a host of others too numerous to mention here, occur in the heavy forest.

Amongst the creepers whose tangled interlacings render the jungle so impenetrable, there are several species of *Calamus*, *Smilacæ*, *Aristolochia*, *Piper*, *Mucuna*, *Cunavalia* and many others, as well as semi-parasitical species of *Ficus* and climbing ferns (*Lygodium*). Tree ferns occur in some parts of the islands, but are not commonly met with; of epiphytical ferns, the most remarkable is the *Asplenium Nidus*, associated with which, on the trunks of trees overhanging the sea, are marvellous festoons of fairy-like beauty formed of species of orchids.

It is not easy to gather from the accounts, which amongst the fruit trees may be regarded as indigenous. As a rule the natives do not care about seeds, and will not even take the trouble to cultivate tobacco which they so much require. On a previous page, the fruits which are now found in the islands, whether indigenous or introduced, have been enumerated. Mr. Diedrichsen's paper concludes with a list of 261 genera of plants, belonging to 99 natural orders, which are found in the Nicobars. The greatest

* A similar variety is said to be well known in the Seychelles.

number of genera belong to the *Leguminosæ*, *Graminaceæ*, *Euphorbiaceæ*, *Polypodiaceæ*, *Rubiaceæ* and *Malvaceæ*. Valuable timber trees of large size are found in the forests of the southern islands, and, to a limited extent, in the northern islands also.

The geological structure of the Nicobar Islands, so far as the density of the jungle admits of an examination being made, is now pretty well known from the researches of Drs. Rink and Hochstetter, attached respectively as geologists to the Danish and Austrian expeditions. Previous to Dr. Rink's visit, in the early part of the same year (1845), in consequence of a report that coal existed in the southern islands, a vessel was despatched from Calcutta by the Danish Consul, Mr. Mackey, in order that investigation on the subject might be made. The result of this, as also of all subsequent examinations of the islands, has been to show that the coal occurs in nests in the sandstones; nothing approaching to a workable bed has ever been discovered.

It is impossible within the limits at our disposal here, to attempt anything like an exhaustive digest of the researches noted above; those for whom the subject has an interest will naturally turn to the originals; and those in whom the future of the settlement is vested, will, it is to be hoped, avail themselves—though it has not been done by the selectors of the site for the new settlement—of the accumulated knowledge of all whose opportunities have best qualified them to form an opinion on the locality. They will learn that the soil of Camorta, where the new settlement is placed, is remarkable—as contrasted with that of the southern islands or even the neighbouring island of Katchall—for its poverty and inability to support cultivation.

It must be admitted that the site selected had an advantage in its good and safe harbour, which is unequalled perhaps by any other in the whole group. It is also well placed for the purpose of putting a stop to the massacres of ships' crews which used to be enacted by the villagers of Trinent and Nancowry.

Dr. Rink has separated the sedimentary rocks of the Nicobar group into two formations. He calls the claystones and their associated conglomerates of Camorta, Nancowrey, Trinkut, Kar-Nicobar, &c "OLDER ALLUVIUM;" and the sandstones and slates of the southern islands, including Katchall, "BROWN COAL FORMATION." Dr. Hochstetter, however, believes that they are "petrographically different products, of one and the same period of deposition." He believes them to correspond in age to the younger *Eocene* or *Miocene*. Both groups or formations are penetrated by plutonic rocks.

Having in the preceding pages given an outline sketch of the islands, their inhabitants and natural productions, we propose to conclude this paper with a brief account of the mission and civil

settlements, which up to the present time have been started in the Nicobar islands.

In 1711 two French Jesuit missionaries were landed on the shore of the Great Nicobar, where they remained for two and a half years; little is known of them, but they are supposed to have been murdered by the natives of one of the other islands.

In 1756 the Nicobar Islands were colonized by settlers from Tranquebar, who re-christened them Frederic's Islands; most of the colonists died and the survivors were removed in 1758.

In 1768 a Moravian Mission from Tranquebar settled on Nancory. They were followed in 1769 by the nucleus of a colony consisting of several Danish officers, a party of soldiers, and some black servants. In 1771 a few survivors of this number were removed, and charge of the stores handed over to the missionaries, who, in spite of sickness and the death of some of the brethren, held to their posts until 1778, when, finding the conversion of the natives perfectly hopeless, the survivors, shattered in health, left the island.

In the same year an Austrian colony was started on Camorta by Capt. Bennet under the direction of William Bolts, who included the Nicobars in his list of settlements formed to promote the trade of Austria with Asia and Africa. An account of the career of that remarkable man is given on page 197 *et seq.* In 1807, it is said, England assumed possession of the islands for a short time. In 1845 the Danes again attempted to colonize them. Mr. Barbe tells us that of some 40 Chinamen taken from Penang to work for this colony, the greater part, being opium smokers, died when deprived of the drug. During the previous two years, two French missionaries resided on Teressa, one of whom died, and the survivor, the Rev. J. M. Chopard, was obliged to leave the island without seeing any good result ensue from his labours.

The volume concludes with copies of the official correspondence, which ultimately led to possession being taken of the Nicobars by her Majesty's Indian Government. From this correspondence which extends over a period of about seventeen years, we learn the particulars of several piracies taken from the evidence of eye-witnesses, and also the horrible fact that at least one white woman with her children was subjected to the most brutal treatment at the hands of the natives.

One cannot help thinking that the efforts made to recover the unfortunate captives were not such as were likely to produce that result. Be this as it may, it is certain that the perpetrators of these hideous crimes, did not and have not yet received the punishment they so richly merit. No excuse on the score of their being mere ignorant savages should have any weight, as, unlike the Andamanese, they have for centuries

been accustomed to shipping, and are well aware of the enormity of their crimes, the committal of which has been encouraged by the impunity with which they have been accompanied hitherto.

The destruction of property by the *Wasp* and *Satellite*, extensive as it may have been, was but small retribution for blood-thirsty murders and piracies carried on during many years. Evidence of the complicity of certain individual Nicobarese in these crimes is not wanting, and no one can be more astonished than themselves to find that, instead of being punished, they have been petted and lionized, and allowed to return to their villages again without any greater loss than that caused by the burning down of their houses.

In 1869 the Indian Government—having ascertained through the Foreign Office that the Danish Government considered the islands derelict, and was willing to cede its rights over them to Her Britannic Majesty—despatched the Superintendent of the Andamans (now also of the Nicobars), Colonel Man, with a company of Madras Sepoys and two hundred convicts, to open up the settlement which is now established on Camorta.

With the regular monthly steam communication at present kept up with the Nicobars, no such casualties, as occurred in the early settlements, are likely to happen. But what the intention of the Government with reference to the settlement may be, we are not informed. We have already given our reasons for believing that it will not prove self-supporting; but in the interest of humanity it is to be hoped that no considerations will be allowed to outweigh the importance of a constant supervision of the islands and their inhabitants. At present even, piracies might be committed at Kar-Nicobar or at some of the southern lands, and tidings not reach the authorities for weeks or even months.

In conclusion, we would express the hope that the time is not far distant when the shipwrecked mariner who, escaping the waves, lands on any of the islands of the Bay of Bengal, may run no risk from falling into the hands of such savages as the inhabitants of either the Andaman or Nicobar Islands.

ART. V.—SERPENT-WORSHIP.

1. *Tree and Serpent-Worship, or, Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India in the first and fourth centuries after Christ, from the sculptures of the Buddhist Temples at Sanchi and Amravati, prepared under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council, with Introductory Essays and Descriptions of the Plates.* By James Fergusson, Esq., F.R.S., M.R.A.S. London: 1868. W. H. Allen and Co.
2. *The Worship of Animals and Plants.* By J. F. McLennan. [Fortnightly Review, 1869.]

A REVOLUTION promises to take place in the Art of Travel; and future archaeologists may avoid the annoyances of a long voyage, the trouble of learning unknown tongues, the danger to life and health of wanderings in tropical forests, the tiger, the poisoned arrow, and "the curst Malayan crease," by merely chartering a cab, or, better still, walking out from their Pall Mall lodgings, and thoroughly exploring the cellars and back-yards of the metropolis. Every morning's work will probably be marked by a discovery; not only in the vaults of the British Museum will totally unknown objects of startling interest reward the patient and privileged investigator, but a yard in Great Marlborough Street has been known to yield a Gupta inscription, and the principal interest of the sumptuous work lying before us is concentrated on a series of photographs from slabs discovered by Mr. Fergusson in the coach-house of Fife House. It seems a sarcastic comment on our English scientific organization that, after the trouble, risk and expense of conveying to England objects so bulky, not to say, so novel, interesting and exquisitely beautiful as the sculptures of the Amravati Temple, they should be, on their arrival, thrown away as lumber, and as completely forgotten as if they had still been buried beneath climbing figs and a jungle of *Asclepius* and *Euphorbia*, on the banks of the Kistna. Ten years after their arrival, Mr. Fergusson heard of their existence by chance, dragged them out into the light, cleared off the cobwebs, set photographers to work on them, and by the aid of the India House authorities—not slow to help in work of this kind when the way has once been pointed out to them—has presented the results to the public, or that limited portion of the public which can afford to buy a five-guinea volume, in this truly magnificent form. We shall have occasion to criticise somewhat sharply some portions of Mr. Fergusson's work, and it may be as well to say at the outset that we totally disapprove of its

arrangement. In addition to his Amravati illustrations, he has had the good sense to furnish us with an equally complete set of illustrations of the older Sanchi topes, already well known through General Cunningham's researches ; but we cannot regard the prefix of a dissertation on tree and serpent worship to a book devoted to the illustration of a special series of architectural monuments, as a happy thought. If the dissertation were in truth a complete and exhaustive study of the subject—one which, while accepting the conclusions of previous scholars, should "crown the edifice" and satisfy the reader by the completeness of its array of facts, the right perspective of its arrangement and the soundness of its conclusions, we should welcome so valuable a piece of work wherever we found it, but least of all, perhaps, in so inaccessible a shape as the present. An essay on an early religion, and a high-priced archaeological work *de luxe* are quite separate things, and should be separately procurable, so that those might read the essay who could not afford to buy the plates. But if, as the case really stands, the essay consists of a series of crude facts, the mere jottings of Mr. Fergusson's note-book, relieved by cruder hypotheses which display a total want of the historic sense, and which have already been condemned by scholars, we cease to regret its appearance as a separate work or paper, but regret all the more deeply that it should be permitted to disfigure an excellent artistic book containing, beside the plates, much architectural criticism of the highest order. The work is solely valuable to the student of religion for the materials which its accurate representations afford ; and we are almost as much compelled to put our own interpretation on those materials as if Mr. Fergusson had not accompanied them by a running commentary, and prefaced them by a disquisition of seventy-five pages.

In one of Mr. Matthew Arnold's exquisite essays, there are some observations on the use of an Academy, which note a defect in the English literary character. Our thinkers, he holds, are too isolated ; they have not discovered the virtue of combination ; each one must do his whole work for himself ; and if he starts in a wrong direction, no power can set him right : whereas, some organized association of intellects, such as the French Academy, tends to keep each individual thinker closer to the common current of thought, and cuts off all that is eccentric while conserving all that is valuable. The *modus operandi* is the general diffusion of a spirit of sound criticism, which develops a public opinion based on the *consensus* of those best qualified to judge, and sharply refuses its ear to any who ignore or defy that public opinion so formed. Mr. Arnold instances the different positions occupied in liberal theology by such a writer as the author of the *Book of Jasher* and by the great continental scholars ; and suggests that an

English Academy would have saved the former from his vagaries, or at least supplied the British public with a sounder article. We do not remember that Dr. Donaldson succeeded in attracting any very large body of followers; and we doubt if forty Matthew Arnolds could have crushed his speculations more effectually than the combined ignorance and carelessness of the British public succeeded in crushing them. Mr. Arnold, it seems to us, is as usual wrong, but suggestive. What has the Academy done in France for the encouragement of liberal scholarship? M. Renan far exceeds Dr. Donaldson in sweetness and light—two not unimportant elements of culture; but he is every bit as unsound and as uncritical; and for the really scientific method—on that subject at least—we must go to Germany. Now Ewald and Strauss, and De Wette are the products of no Academy, and they owe their superiority—apart from their personal merit—not to any organized association for turning out good writers and making people read them (two very difficult tasks for any Company, limited or otherwise, to compass), but to the general diffusion in Germany of a spirit of free and scholarly criticism, to the fact that there is a large class in that country of people of the highest culture who are interested in such questions, and that this class is not, as in England, restrained by clerical influence. If we turn to subjects on which the expression of opinion is less constrained, and on which the public mind is sufficiently instructed to recognize good work at sight, we find that there is in England no lack of such. No Academy could have bettered such books as Mr. Darwin's *Origin of Species* or Mr. Mauc's *Ancient Law*, nor have given them a wider circulation. Crude speculations on all topics come to the birth in all countries, but it is only where there are no sound speculations to compete with them that they command an audience; otherwise they perish in infancy. No power on earth could have prevented Mr. Fergusson from writing as he does about Aryans and Turanians and the primeval serpent-religion; but if there had been any general degree of instruction on topics of this class, and if there had arisen any one sound authority who could command attention from an audience so instructed, his speculations would never have been listened to, or at least not with the deference which we have of late seen shown to them.

Unfortunately Mr. Fergusson is *facile princeps* in his own field, and it is a field of which very few persons know anything, although there is a mysterious attraction in it for many. The science of comparative religion has taken no firm root on English soil; and Professor Max Müller's principal task is to show people that there is such a science, and to shake off some of the prejudices which prevent their handling it. The Professor has also shown us how to apply the scientific treatment to the study of the Vaidic

religion, and in this line he has his pupils and followers. But the history of other, and perhaps more primitive, forms of religious thought, has never been treated scientifically; and Mr. Fergusson still commands a hearing.

We purpose in the following pages to run rapidly through the body of known facts on the reverence paid to serpents, availing ourselves of Mr. Fergusson's arrangement and criticising his inferences; and after sketching the more important of the theories which have been formed on the subject, we shall give the reader as briefly as possible our own conclusions. We may not establish anything; but we trust at least to set speculation on the right path.

Mr. Fergusson's introductory essay consists mainly of a summary of the principal facts connected with tree and serpent-worship, arranged in a sort of geographical order. It commences with a few observations of the vaguest possible character on the *raison d'être* of these cults. The tree is worshipped because it is beautiful, and because it is useful. We have a little to say on this worship, and we shall say it further on. The connection which he tries to establish between tree and serpent-worship is altogether illusory. They never formed a distinct cult in connection with one another, and tree-worship never stood alone. It was altogether subsidiary to other religions, and was revered almost exclusively from its memorial character, in connection with important historical facts in the history of religions. Sâkyamuni became a Buddha under the *Bo* tree; his predecessors attained Buddhahood under other trees; and thus the culminating points on the history of their lives were recalled to mind by the tree, till, like the Cross of Christ, it assumed a species of secondary honour, and was planted, or imaged, wherever the Buddhas were worshipped. In other systems the tree became a great centre of myths, as the symbol of life, and was connected with the respect paid to the generative power. But of this hereafter.

Just as vague is Mr. Fergusson's general treatment of the serpent as an object of worship. His beauty, his perpetual youth, his deadly powers, are enumerated; and the author remarks, though he does not attempt to explain, the paradox that a reverence founded on fear should have given place to love; and that the serpent was the Agathodæmon, the bringer of wisdom and all blessings. In fact Mr. Fergusson's explanation is none at all. Admiration of the somewhat problematical beauty of the serpent-tribe would never have led to worship. Most snakes are ugly, and none more so than the cobra, the peculiar object of reverence in India. The most beautiful snake has not the beauty of flowers and insects, which were never objects of worship. The most active snake is not so rapid in its motions as the gazelle or the swallow, which were never worshipped. The dread of the serpent's poison, the

mysterious suddenness of its attack, and its terrible fatality, come nearer to the point, but explain, as Mr. Fergusson admits, but few of the phenomena; they do not explain, for instance, the proverbial wisdom of the serpent, the serpent as a sign of good fortune, the hierarchy of serpents in the under-world, the mutual interchange of form between the serpent and man; all which notions a philosophical enquirer is bound to notice, for they are all notions which come to the surface at the most distant times and places.

In the very next page, Mr. Fergusson fluds himself among his old friends the Aryans and Turanians, and flounders about pitifully in "the mud of the Lower Euphrates," where, for some reason with which he does not favour us, he considers that serpent-worship originated. The writer who invented the Turanians (was it Max Müller?) did not confer an unmixed blessing on mankind; on the contrary, he has been the cause, no doubt the innocent cause, of a flood of portentous nonsense. Turanian is a very good word for Türk, and expresses neatly enough the numerous branches of a definite nationality in Central Asia; and in the original antithesis of Iran and Turan, it meant nothing else; but Turanian, as ordinary writers use the word, might as well be expressed by *etcetera*; Aryans and Turanians mean Aryans and others. Nor have we any objection to this, or to any form of words with a definite meaning, though we prefer the simpler expression, as less likely to mislead. But Aryans and Turanians are constantly spoken of as co-ordinates, words of similar value, expressing two parallel branches of the human stem; and thus people go wrong. Mankind has many branches or families, and of these the Aryan is but one—a branch that took its origin tolerably high up the stem. Obviously, the other branches can have no common attributes except negative ones, the non-possession of those particular features which distinguish the Aryan family. If this simple fact be forgotten, two errors creep in, both of them abundantly exemplified in the work before us; ideas and practices which belong to common human nature are set down as Turanian, and the Turanian race is credited with common positive attributes. Mr. Hunter avoids much of this confusion by using the term *non-Aryan*, but even Mr. Hunter is inclined to find evidence of a community of language among non-Aryan people as such, which distinguishes them from Aryans. Is there any common bond between the races classified as Turanian—the Dravidians of south India, the Himalayan tribes, Ugro-Fians, Basques, Mongols, Chinese, Malays, Australians, Maoris, Polynesians, Esquimaux, American Indians, African Negroes, and so on? Undoubtedly there is, in that they do not possess a language inflected like the Sanscrit, and in that they do possess a common human nature. What attributes they have in common, they have—not as

Turanians, but as men. To say that the Turanians originated snake-worship, means no more than that snake-worship did not originate among the Aryans; and as snake-worship undoubtedly existed among them, it is about as valuable a remark as to say that the Turanians originated the practice of eating food; for there is no evidence that the practice commenced among an Aryan people, and it is found in tribes of the lowest intellectual status.*

Mr. Fergusson goes on to connect human sacrifices with snake-worship, though he is doubtful whether the connection was organic or one of mere juxtaposition. As it does not exist, we may spare ourselves the enquiry. Human sacrifice crops up in most countries; so does the reverence for snakes; and it need not surprise us if we find the two occasionally co-existent, as in Phœnicia of old and the modern Dahomey. But there is absolutely no ground for saying that we find the one wherever we find the other. The serpent in Phœnicia was not at the root of religion; it was a mere emblematic accretion; and in India, especially in Buddhist India, where the reverence for snakes assumed a higher position than elsewhere, the whole tone of religion is antagonistic to human sacrifice. We hear no more of it in Mr. Fergusson's book, we see no trace of it in his lavish illustrations, and the supposed connection is the mere tentative effort of one who would rather set up theories than ascertain facts.

The geographical survey commences with Egypt. Bishop Pontopiddan, in his famous chapter on the snakes of Norway, informs us that "there are no snakes in Norway," and Mr. Fergusson's chapter on serpent-worship in Egypt comes to much the same result. He tells us that there was no special serpent-worship in Egypt, though there ought to have been, considering that the Egyptians worshipped all sorts of animals. The flippant way in which he dismisses the vast subject of Egyptian mythology seems to have been borrowed from the Roman satirist:—

* The author, in a recent paper, called attention to the peculiar problem presented by the Greek religion—so much grander and deeper than the specially Aryan traditions that it was difficult to conceive how it could have originated from them:—how, for instance, the Homeric conception of Athene could have taken its rise from a crude element worship. A writer in a late number of the *Quarterly Review* (Mr. Fergusson again?) is struck with the same problem, but, bolder than ourselves, attempts to solve it. Unfortunately his imagi-

nation deserts him, and he falls into the beaten track. "Their Gods are anthropic, and belong to an ancestral worshipping people [meaning 'ancestor-worshipping']. Their oracles, their ceremonies, all the external forms of their faith, are antagonistic to Aryan principles, and must have survived from some earlier Turanian people whom they had obliterated." This is the *deus ex machina* with a vengeance. But it somewhat inverts the ordinary notions of the Turanians, who are generally credited with all that is low and repulsive in religion.

" Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc ; illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibum.
Effigies sacri nitet onrea cercopitheci.
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
Porrum et cæpe nefas violare et frangere morsu.
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina."

He says, " With the Egyptians all knowledge was considered as divine, and whatever they saw, they worshipped. Their gods had been kings ; their kings were gods ; and all the animal kingdom was considered worthy of worship in a greater or less degree. From bulls to beetles, from crocodiles to cats, it made little difference ; all came alike to a people so essentially religious as the Egyptians seem to have been." Now, to say nothing of the flippancy, it would be hard to match the absolute nonsense of this passage. If they worshipped bulls and beetles, what does Mr. Fergusson mean by saying that their gods had been kings ? When were bulls and beetles kings ? What is Mr. Fergusson's notion of an essentially religious people ? Is a people's religiousness proved by the meanness of its objects of worship ? Again, why does he suppose that crocodiles and cats were worshipped ? Because they made mummies of them ? But they made mummies of one another. Because they made pictures of them ? Why, Mr. Fergusson, of all men, knows that the monstrous creeping and flying things which adorn a thirteenth century cathedral, were not put there to be worshipped. The Egyptian religion, grand and gloomy, sought after symbols, especially after whatever could be supposed to prefigure the life after death. That life, and the death which was its portal, are depicted in a hundred aspects, and every such emblem formed a suitable adornment for their religious buildings. Men watched the beetle (*Ateuchus Sacer*) as it laboured through the dust with a round earthen pellet, which it dropped into a hole ready made ; and from that hole emerged in time a new and brighter beetle. No wonder that they consecrated at once so striking a type of the grave and the resurrection ; they derived a spiritual lesson from the beetle, but they no more worshipped it, than Dr. Watts worshipped the emmet or " the little busy bee "

Now the serpent was to the Egyptians something more than the beetle, because his moral significance rested on quasi-religious legends. If they did not worship the serpent, they had the ideas which led to worship elsewhere. He appears in Egyptian mythology in his two-fold and contrasted aspects of *Kakodæmon* and *Agathodæmon*,—a contrast of which we shall endeavour to develop the origin in the course of this paper. In the first form he is *Typhon*, the enemy of the gods, and the father of storms ; in the second, he is *Thoth*, called in the Græco-Egyptian Syncretism of

later days Hermes Trismegistos, the author of all knowledge and science, and analogous to the Phœnician Kadmos, "the Ancient of days." These myths ought not to have escaped Mr. Fergusson's notice, as they are amply developed in so well-known a book as Movers's *Phœnicia*.

Passing to *Judea*, we have ample evidence in the books of the Bible of the various aspects in which the serpent was regarded by a Semitic people. He is, first, the type of the evil powers opposed to God, and in the earlier books it is the serpent himself, the literal creeping animal, that is so regarded, only with the modification, which will be afterwards familiar to us, of the serpent assuming a human form, for such must have been the tempter in that earliest scene. Much ingenuity has been expended in the explanation of the serpent's curse, which implies a different mode of progression from that with which we are familiar. One commentator will have the original serpent provided with legs like the *Seps* and other *genera* intermediate between snake and lizard; another boldly rejects the serpent altogether, and regards the *Nachash* as an anthropoid ape. But to those who are acquainted with the Buddhist and Greek traditions of serpents who could assume a human aspect, and who frequently did so for the purposes of temptation, as in the story of Lamia, and the convents of illusory serpent-monks mentioned in the *Dul-va*, there will be little doubt that the tempting serpent was conceived as outwardly human, and banned by the curse to assume his proper form. The tempter was afterwards more clearly identified with the evil spirit, and in the gorgeous visions of the Apocalypse the serpentine aspect had fallen into the regions of metaphor. The wisdom of the serpent and his healing powers are ideas which belong to the same cycle as the Phœnician and Egyptian myths, and of which we shall give the best explanation we can in a later part of this essay. The only instance of serpent-worship in the Bible is that of the brazen serpent broken in pieces by Hezekiah—a curious proof of the extreme religious flexibility which distinguished the Hebrew race, before the cult of Jehovah assumed a definite shape in the reign of Josiah. Much of the Hebrew tone in dealing with the serpent was caught from an Aryan people at the time of the captivity. The Eden myth is thoroughly Persian in form, and in cherub and seraph we find the ordinary Aryan antithesis of the winged creatures of air, and the creeping things of the lower world, the gryphon (γρύψ) or *garuda*, and the serpent (*sarpa*). The gates of Paradise are watched by cherubs, creatures with wings to fly and claws to *grab* (to use an illustrative etymology) whatever ventures too near the sacred treasure. Little of all this, however, do we learn from Mr. Fergusson's meagre sketch, which concludes with an account of the

Ophites, who had no special connection with Palestine, except that they were commonly regarded as a quasi-Christian sect. If Mr. Fergusson knows little about them, we cannot much blame him, as little is to be known, except what can be gleaned from the old catalogues of heresies compiled by writers at once utterly credulous and cynically determined to ascribe every possible height of folly and blasphemy to those who repudiated the orthodox system.* The Ophites might, for all we know, have been harmless Buddhist traders from Kashmir, though their tenets read more like a syncretism between Kashmiri Buddhism and the Gnostic forms of Christianity, which themselves borrowed partly from the old Aryan fire-cult and partly from Buddhism. They are represented as accepting Christian terminology, but distinctly opposed to the worship of Jehovah, and ranking themselves among the adherents of the lower and hostile principle represented by the serpent. Origen says† that they reviled God because he cursed the serpent, who gave the knowledge of good and evil; (so the Templars, who borrowed largely from these eastern cults, commenced their initiation by making the novice spit upon the image of the Redeemer;) “worse than the Greek philosopher, who chose a dog for his godfather, these sectaries take their name from the most odious and frightful of beasts.”‡ No doubt the serpent, to those familiar with Jewish and Christian tradition, represented the specially evil principle, but this was by no means the case with the serpent-worshippers of these sects, who saw in the snake only an object of love and honour. He is the healer, the benefactor, the teacher; the crooked letters of the alphabet imitate his winding course; he brought knowledge to men like Prometheus, and was like him (so the Ophites believed) hurled down from heaven by the angry Jaldabaoth.§ the Maker of the world. We find hints too of observances which resemble those of Indian serpent-worship. The serpent was kept in a chest or ark, fed with loaves, round which he twined himself, and sacramentally kissed by his worshippers. Amulets representing serpents were worn round the neck, which (if not lingams) were probably ammonites, like the sacred Sâlagrâma of Vishnu, and the petrified snakes of St. Hilda on the Yorkshire

* See, for instance, the account given by Epiphanius of the Gnostic love-feasts, in which sacramental efficacy is ascribed to τὴν πύσιν τὴν τοῦ ἀρρένου. Probably no one but Mr. Hepworth Dixon would care to pursue the subject. Another catalogue describes worshippers of frogs, *putantes dei iram ex hac observantia posse placari*, and the Muscritæ who

worshipped shrew-mice.

† *Adv. Cels.* vi. 28.

‡ He describes a curious diagram, representing by a number of concentric circles the universal soul, and displaying the seven principal angels in animal forms,—Michael as a lion, Suriel as a bull, Raphael as a hissing serpent, Gabriel as an eagle, &c.
§ Epiph. *Her.* iii. 37.

coast.* Further inquiry might bring to light further resemblances ; but little has yet been done for the history of those obscure sects, which swarmed for some centuries after Christ in the border land of the religions of the world—Central Asia Minor and the mountainous regions which bound the great Iranian plain to the west—and derived aliment at once from the old Aryan religions of Persia, from Buddhism and snake-worship, from Christianity and Judaism, and from the dreams of Neo-platonic philosophy ; nor does any section of history stand more in need of scholarly treatment than that which embraces the names of Valentinus and of Manes, of the Ophites and the Gnostics—the spiritual ancestors alike of the Druses of Lebanon and of the Albigenses of Provence.

Mr. Fergusson next carries us to *Phœnicia*, where he illustrates serpent-worship by quotations from an author who is supposed to have lived before the Trojan war. If the Trojan war be in truth only the daily repeated conflict between the sun and the powers of darkness, Mr. Fergusson's author must have lived at a very early date indeed ; and even if, as he seems inclined to suppose, the war was an actual historical event, with Commissaries-General, Special Correspondents and the like, the opinions of an author who lived before it would be very valuable. He might have known Herakles, who was, according to General Abbott, one of the greatest military geniuses of antiquity ; he must have much to tell us of Cadmus, Deucalion, Ninrod, and other great men who perhaps honoured him by reading his proofs, but whom the perverse science of modern days refines away into solar heroes. To our disappointment, this archaic author turns out to be no other than our old friend Sanchoniathon, whose name, with those of Manetho, Berosus and Ocellus Lucanus, imposed so egregiously on the worthy Vicar of Wakefield. It is no doubt a good name to conjure with, but Mr. Fergusson ought to be aware that it is no more the name of an author than the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, or the *Whole Duty of Man*, for Sanchoniathon means "the entire law of Chon," that is, Belus, and that the book he quotes, so far from being composed before the Trojan war, is a forgery by a late author named Philon of Byblos, who lived in the time of Hadrian. All this has been demonstrated years ago, and there is no excuse for ignoring it.

The position taken by the serpent in Phœnician legend is that of the Agathodæmon or friend of man ; and it was under this aspect

* " Of thousand snakes, each one
Was changed into a coil of stone,
When holy Hilda prayed."—*Marmion*.
See Philastrius I, 22 ; Tertullian, *Prescrip.* 47.

that the Phœnicians carried the esteem for him into Greece. He teaches men the higher arts, especially writing and medicine. But he is never worshipped, and we find him only as an attribute or assistant to certain gods and great teachers—an emblem, not a god.

Considering that a few pages back we found Mr. Fergusson tracing serpent-worship to the mud of the Lower Euphrates, it is amusing to find that his principal authority for the worship in *Mesopotamia* is the story of Bel and the Dragon. Snakes seldom live in mud, and most species prefer rocky or sandy soil. Probably Mr. Fergusson was thinking of the mystic fish-god Oannes, who appeared from the swamp, and taught the arts of life to the primæval Babylonians.

In *Greece* we find ourselves, when we least expect it, in full cry after the Turanians. We gather from Mr. Gladstone's view of the Pelasgians, that he thinks them essentially Aryan; their religion and the list of what he supposes to be their contribution to the Greek vocabulary, are undoubtedly so. We respect Mr. Gladstone's opinions without always yielding to them; but in this case our full convictions go with him, and not with Mr. Fergusson, who holds the Pelasgians to have been a Turanian people, apparently for these three reasons. *Firstly*, the Pelasgians built tombs, which no Aryan race ever did—a monstrous assumption which runs through all Mr. Fergusson's writings, and strikingly exhibits his manner of argument. He first lays down a law, apparently from a single instance. Then he disposes of all the instances that contradict his law, by simply contradicting the instances. The Moguls, a Turanian people, built tombs; therefore all Turanians are tomb-builders; therefore all tomb-builders shall be Turanians, in spite of all facts to the contrary. The assertion has been a hundred times disproved. Who but true Aryans built the Buddhist Stûpas? Who built the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and all the countless monuments that throng the Appian way? Who raised the tumuli of the royal house of Denmark, which can be traced into historical and even Christian times? Who built Kits Coty House in Kent? If among the Indian, Latin, Teutonic and Celtic branches of the Aryan family, we find tomb-building prevalent, why should we miss it in Greece alone? and why should the presence of tombs in Greece prove a Turanian substratum in the population? *Secondly*, after the Aryanization of Greece, in its great age the people relapsed into a Turanian ancestor-worship. This is a more marvellous argument than the other. If we knew what Mr. Fergusson meant by ancestor-worship, and if we knew that it prevailed in the great age of Greece, we should still want to know how that proves that it prevailed in any earlier age, and why its prevalence is a relapse, and why it is Turanian? The only ancestor-worship that we know of in Greece was the reverence paid by tribes and fami-

lies to their eponymous heroes, which was certainly not more prominent there than it was in Rome, and not nearly so prominent as it was in Vaidic India. Has Mr. Fergusson never heard of oblations to the *pitris*, and of their importance in Hindu family and religious life? But because the Chinese worship their ancestors, therefore all Turanians worship their ancestors, and no one else does. It is wonderful what fine fellows these Turanians turn out to be when we look at them closely. We have sadly misunderstood them hitherto. We now find that it was the degraded grovelling Aryans among whom man dieth as the beast dieth and there is no difference, who throw away his body like a dog's and know not if he has a soul, while the Turanians not only clothe his mortal remains with all the sumptuousness of architecture, but do abiding honour to his surviving spiritual part.

Mr. Fergusson's third argument brings us back to our special subject. Not only did the old Greeks build tombs, and the new Greeks worship their ancestors, which proves incontestably that the old Greeks were Turanians, but the new Greeks killed serpents, which of course proves that the Old Greeks worshipped them, and that, we have seen, is a sure sign of Turanism. "All the earlier myths refer to the destruction of serpents "or of serpent-races... After the return of the Heraclidae, when "Hellenic supremacy was assured, we meet with a kinder feeling "The serpent then became the oracle, the guardian of the city, or "the healing God—the Agathodæmon in short," which Mr. Fergusson regards as an instance of the old form of faith cropping up, when the new form was regarded as sufficiently established to need protective measures no further. This is not so wild as the talk about tombs and ancestor-worship, but it is not one whit more solid. The two phenomena—the serpent-killing in the myths, and the later reverence paid to the serpent—belong to quite distinct classes of phenomena; and neither of them affords any proof of an early and prevalent serpent-worship. The myths are not ethnical at all, but atmospheric, or in part atmospheric and in part ethnical, and they are not peculiar to Greece. Herakles killed dragons, so did Perseus, so did Phœbus Apollo, but India also slays Ahi, the throttling snake; and Thraetona slays Azi-dahaka, the biting snake, a myth repeated in the *Shahnamah* under the names of Feridun and Zohak, and (some think) repeated also under the names of Cyrus and Astyages; while the story reappears in Christian times in the histories of St. Michael and St. George. Even if we do not go the whole length of the modern school of mythologists in assuming all these legends to represent the sun's struggle against, and victory over, the power of the night—even if we suppose them to have had from the first, as they undoubtedly had in later times, a moral significance, and

to depict the good man, the Happy Warrior, victorious over evil and corruption, we have no need to fall back on the worn-out notion of a struggle between races, and to suppose that the dragon of the myths represents a hostile nationality, much less a nationality of serpent-worshippers.

But there was no doubt a modified serpent-worship in historical Greece, or, to speak strictly, reverence was paid to the serpent as a favourite of certain gods, and an emblem of certain ideas; and the burden of proof rests of course with those who maintain, as we do, that this reverence was not aboriginal, but introduced. Serpents are not numerous in Greece, or peculiarly dangerous, and their worship could hardly have been a product of the soil. We have no doubt that it was a relic of that Phœnician influence which Mr. Gladstone has shown to have been more extensive than was formerly thought. There was no popular cult of snakes, and their worship was confined to some half-a-dozen spots, notably Epidaurus and the Erichtheion of Athens—places peculiarly exposed to Phœnician influence. That Asklepios, in whose temple at Epidaurus numerous serpents were kept, and who was never represented without the serpentine emblem, was a Phœnician deity, is not clear from the legends respecting him, but his attributes connect him with the Phœnician Esmun, and if we consider that the serpent in Phœnicia was an attribute of the healing power, that the Phœnicians taught the Greeks most of the civilized arts, and probably also medicine, and that Epidaurus lay on the side which they would first and most frequently visit, we shall not hesitate to connect the Asklepiian snake with Phœnicia, and to imagine that the inauguration of the temple was celebrated by the arrival of a flotilla from Sidon, bringing in triumph a living serpent, just as in historical times the serpent was carried with similar solemnities from Epidaurus to Rome. The Erichthonion in the Akropolis possessed, it appears, a living serpent, the *οικονόμος ὄφης*, and as this temple also contained a tree, the characteristic olive of Attica, it is paraded as the only Greek temple dedicated to tree and serpent-worship. But there was a third emblem, the Thalatta, or salt-water tank, which does not suit Mr. Fergusson's view, and is not noticed by him. The combination is one not of worshipped deities, but of attributes, and seems to express the various resources of the Athenian people, the home-grown olive of their native rock, Poseidon's ocean, to imply a maritime race, and the serpent as the type of foreign wisdom. The myth of Kadmos serves more distinctly to connect Phœnicia with the serpent. He brought into Greece Phœnician wisdom, especially written characters, which, with their strange wriggings across the page, from left to right, and again from right to left, seemed to the ignorant eye like the traces a serpent leaves in the dust, and he was identified with

Tau-ut or Thoth (the thrice-great Hermes) who was both in Phœnicia and Egypt a serpent-deity ; and when his human work was done, he and his wife put on their primitive forms, and (for Kadmos means 'the Ancient of Days,' and the legendary serpent does not die) they still bask in the sun, says the legend, as

"Two bright and aged snakes
Who once were Cadmus and Harmonia."

The *Etruscans*, it appears, were "quasi-Turanians," whatever that may be, and as they had tombs and no temples, and worshipped their ancestors, they probably worshipped serpents—a fair specimen of Mr. Fergusson's reasoning. The *Romans*, however, were not serpent-worshippers, till the late times when they adopted all sorts of foreign religions ; but under this head, Mr. Fergusson, finding little to say, carries us back to *Asia Minor*, where we find coins representing the sacred serpent, and belonging to the Cities of the Seven Churches, which proves that serpent-worship was a sort of *Præparatio Evangelica*, a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ. This is a strikingly original thought, which we commend to the next Bampton Lecturer ; but it is in strong contrast with the fact that the early Christians held serpent-worship to be devil-worship, and applied to its relation with Christianity the old prediction, "it shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel."

In *Poland* and *Lithuania* there seems to have prevailed, up to the middle ages, a sort of domestic serpent-worship, of which we know few particulars. In *Scandinavian* legend there appears no trace of the worship ; but the mythological function of serpents is precisely what we find in India, and shows how widespread was the belief that abysses beneath the earth were tenanted by intelligent beings in the form of snakes. As Mr. Fergusson sensibly remarks, a serpent mythology could not have sprung up in the north of Europe, where serpents are both scarce and insignificant ; and we must therefore ascribe to it an Eastern origin ; nor will the common Eastern origin of all the Indo-Germanic nations suffice for our needs, for the notion of the serpent hierarchy* is not found among the Græco-Latin races, the southern Teutons, the Persians, or the Vaidic Hindus. It first rises into prominence in India with Buddhism, and spreads with Buddhism through Central Asia to the North. We must confess to the same distrust of Scandinavian, as of Mexican Buddhism, and the identification of Odin* with Buddha seems to us a pure illusion ; but two curious

* The name Odin or Woden applied to God is purely Teutonic, and means that which moves, stirs or grows. Many have dwelt on the identity of Wodensday with *Budha bar*, the day of the planet Mercury, but there is

no connection between the original notion of Odin and that of Buddha, nor any between Buddha and Mercury except (what may be a coincidence) that both are sons of a mother Maia.

facts point to the spread of Buddhistic influence as far at least as Lapland; namely, this strange belief in the infernal hierarchy of snakes, and the term *Shamans* as applied to the priests of the rude northern tribes, which is a corruption of *Sramana*, a Buddhist disciple.

When he comes to *France* and *England*, Mr. Fergusson becomes unusually cautious and sober, and smiles at the vagaries of those who regard Stonehenge and Avebury, as *Dracontia* or serpent-temples; but even here he cannot dispense with the potential mood, that necessary implement of hypothetical history. "The pre-Celtic race in France and England *may have been* serpent-worshippers." Of course they may, or worshippers of sharpened flints, for all we know; but we have not the smallest reason to suppose they were. The only indication of any respect paid to the serpent in the British isles is its frequent appearance, in grotesque and exaggerated forms, on the sculptured stones of Scotland, which are with probability ascribed to Scandinavian workmen of a by no means primeval date.

In *Africa* we meet with the existing serpent-worship of Dahomey, fully, and no doubt faithfully, described by Captain Burton,* which interests us not from any fancied connection with the worship of Kambodia and Taxila, which arose among a different race, under a totally distinct set of circumstances, but as the most conspicuous specimen of that aboriginal fetishism, which so often seized upon the serpent as a favourite type, though it nowhere excluded other objects from coördinate worship. Here, too, we find that association of serpent worship with human sacrifice upon which Mr. Fergusson so erroneously lays stress.

Of *American* serpent-worship but little is known, except that, as Mr. Fergusson states, the serpent represented in sculpture is always the rattlesnake, which points to a local origin of the cult, and leads Mr. Fergusson to the remark that "human nature is alike anywhere, and that man in like circumstances and with a like degree of civilization does always the same things and elaborates the same beliefs;"—a view which, if it had occurred to him, would have saved him much ethnological speculation of little value.

At length we come, in *Kashmir*, to the focus and centre of Eastern serpent-worship. There is a remarkable *consensus* of authorities on this point. Firstly, we have the Greek and Roman historians of Alexander's expedition, who mention that enormous serpents (apparently pythons) were kept, fed, and worshipped,

* This eminent traveller has a serious ground of complaint against Mr. Fergusson, who represents him as assisting at a human sacrifice, at which from 30 to 40 victims were slain. The French idiom is not yet sufficiently naturalized to be passed over without remark

both in Kashmir and at Taxila in the Upper Panjab. Next, the Buddhist legends describe the conversion of thousands of men and Nâgas in this country by Madhyantika, a missionary of Asoka's time. These Nâgas were probably, as we shall see, a guild of men who by some special initiation obtained power over the serpent race, and were placed under serpent-protection; popular belief ascribed to them several extraordinary faculties, as the power of changing into serpents at will (so that it was doubtful whether they were essentially snakes or men), and the power of producing storms of rain and thunder. In the Buddhist writings of later ages and distant countries, especially Ceylon, the confusion between the human Nâgas and their serpentine prototypes had reached its height, and it is doubtful whether the writers supposed themselves to be speaking of beings in human or in serpentine form, nor can we attempt to reduce these strange medleys into history. But in Kashmir it is clear that the Nâgas were a visible people in human shape. A later authority is Hiuen-Tsang, whose account of Kashmir and the Gandhara country is full of snake-stories of the wildest character. Every lake, almost every spot, had its tradition of some Nâga king who dwelt beneath the waters, some perverted missionary who lived as a dragon where he had formerly preached the word, or some monstrous marriage between a human prince and the serpent-king's daughter. Then comes the indigenous history — the *Raja Tarangini*, which refers distinctly to a serpent-religion, and describes contests between its professors and the Buddhists in the centuries immediately following the Christian era, *i.e.*, after the occupation of Kashmir by the Yueichi. Lastly, to come to a much later date, the *Ayur Akbari* enumerates the temples in Kashmir belonging to different religions, and we find that in Akbar's reign, while the various Hindu deities were worshipped in 134 shrines, "there were 700 places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshipped," Mr. Fergusson states that this is fully confirmed by the architecture,—a strange notion of confirmation, as he admits that there are no images of snakes in the Kashmirian temples, and believes that there never were any. The temples are surrounded, he says, by square courts, capable of being flooded, and crossed by light stone bridges, and he infers that they were devoted to the worship of living serpent-gods, who disported themselves in the tanks, and retired to the shrine or *adytum* to be fed and worshipped. We are ourselves inclined to the belief that the live serpent was originally, as in Greece, and Phœnicia, not the god, but the guardian of the temple; and that the sculptured snakes served originally the same purpose of embellishment which we shall find them serving in the Amravati and Cambodian temples; but that both were elevated to the rank of gods

by the ignorant fetishism of the populace. The destruction of the sculptures, for the existence of which we have the distinct statement of Abulfazl, may be due to the iconoclasm of some late Muhammadan governor, or to the zealous and powerful Kashmir Brahmins.* At one time, however, Brahmanism had apparently adopted snake-worship, and there is a compilation, the *Nila Mata*, analysed by Professor Cowell in the appendix to Mr. Fergusson's book, which seems to consist of a Hindu ritual of the modern type, diversified by snake stories. We may conclude then, without entering for the present into any question of origination, that from two or three centuries before Christ to a period not very long ago, the prevailing religion in the valley of the Jhelum was the worship of serpents—either live snakes kept for the purpose, or sculptured ones, or enormous and imaginary serpents which were believed to have their dwelling in lakes, and to have powers over the air; or lastly, persons called Nāgas who had been initiated into serpent-rites, which gave them power to command serpents, and to change themselves into serpents at will.

Mr. Fergusson, whose geography is rather perplexing, now leads us into *Kambodia*, where stand what are, in his opinion, the most magnificent serpent temples ever erected. The magnificence of the temples none can doubt, who have seen Mr. Thomson's photographs; but the Nāga worship has no special claim to them. They form the most interesting architectural discovery of late days; and it is a subject for regret that they have never yet been described by any competent archæologist. Hidden away in dense jungles haunted by tigers and malaria, they tempt but few travellers, and those who have as yet seen them, either like Mouhot their discoverer, a young and ardent naturalist, but of no archæological training, do not understand them; or, like Bastian, are devoid of the gift of intelligible speech. His book is a thorny jungle, and whoever looks to it for a plain answer to a plain question, will turn away, as we have often done, disappointed. The temples furnish a puzzling historical problem. To find an offshoot of Hinduism so far to the east is strange; but to this we have been accustomed in Java. What is more remarkable is the nobility of the architecture, recalling the severe classical forms of the Roman Doric, and more western in aspect than anything east of Kashmir, while the temples are distinguished from those of Kashmir as well as those of the west by a more lavish wealth of sculptural decoration than has ever been crowded into so narrow a space. Who were the builders, and whence came they? Legend traces them

* We have not the means of referring to Baron Hügel's book, but it would be interesting to learn whether any traces of serpent-worship exist at this day in Kashmir.

from Rûm, which is described as not far from Taxila in the Punjab,—a known seat of serpent-worship, in the country of the ancient Kambojas. The sculpture points to an Indian people familiar with the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana; for legends from these books form the principal subjects; the name of their city too, was Indravashtha, as that of the S'amese was Ayodhya. There is, therefore, no doubt that these countries, like Java, were occupied by a conquering race of Hindus; and the probability is that they or their teachers came from the Panjab, and brought with them architects from the neighbouring Kashmir or Bactria. The first four centuries after Christ are the periods of greatest displacement in Hindu history. When the Yuei-chei or 'Jats, forced from their homes by movements among the tribes of Central Asia, poured in successive waves over the Indus valley, the tribes that inhabited the Punjab at the period of the Mahābhārata were driven to carve out their fortune elsewhere. A Buddhist detachment seems to have settled near the mouths of the Kistna, and built Amravati. A detachment professing the Pauranic faith, must have adventured themselves on the deep, and landed in Kambodia, to which they gave the name of their old home between the Five Rivers. We have not only the name, but the direct tradition, of a Panjabi origin; and no other hypothesis will combine the two peculiarities of the Kambodian temples, the Nāga decoration and traces of the Nāga worship, together with Greek traditions of architectural form and detail. Some indications of such traditions are scattered all over India, for everywhere something in the proportions of a pillar or the flowing lines of a honeysuckle wreath reminds us of Greek work; and it is not improbable that isolated Bactrian architects should have wandered to the courts of opulent princes in all parts of India, just as Italian painters found themselves in the courts of French or German monarchs in the fifteenth century. But a people among whom the *prevailing* architecture was western, must have been long the neighbours of a western race, and such a people we can only look for in or near the Punjab. Mr. Fergusson lays stress on the specially Roman as distinguished from the Greek style in Kambodian architecture; but he has not explained in what the difference consists, and no explanation of it can be suggested which does not violate historical probability. The name of Rûm in the traditions may be of modern, and probably of Musalman, origin. All we can say is that a tribe bearing in their architecture distinct traces of Kashmirian, as well as of western influence, and imbued at once with Nāga worship and with mediæval Indian tradition, migrated into Kambodia. There is no trace, if we remember rightly, even of the knowledge of Buddhism: and the Nāga traditions attached themselves with indifference to either creed.

Of Chinese serpent-worship there is little to say, and though Mr. Fergusson derives both it and the Indian worship from a common centre in Thibet, the existence of which is a matter of inference and not of knowledge, he brings forward no facts inconsistent with the view that it was brought from India with the Hindu mythology, by the Buddhist missionaries. Indra and the other gods of the early Brahmanical pantheon thus crept into China; and the forms of the snake-deities, so important in advanced Buddhism, naturally accompanied them; especially as it was from Kashmir, through the gorges of the Upper Indus, that those ideas permeated which were destined to have such influence upon Chinese life and character.

We now turn westward to *Ceylon*, where we find the fetish form of serpent-worship still extant; many houses have their tutelary live snake of a large and harmless species, like the Indian *Dhāmin*. The Buddhist traditions are full of *Nāgas*, and it appears certain that at some period, probably long after the first introduction of Buddhism, the *Nāga* sect found its way there, and obtained adherents among the Hinduized invaders of the island.

After skirting *India* on all sides, Mr. Fergusson at length fixes full upon it, and unhappily once more taps the Turanian vein—always for him a vein of paradox and dogmatism. We quote a few of his statements with such remarks as appear necessary:—

“Sakya-Muni attempted to revive the religion of the original Turanians.”

“No Aryan race, while existing in anything like purity, was ever converted to Buddhism;”—yet Buddhism sprung up in the bosom of as purely an Aryan race as ever existed in India.

“The dissemination of the Buddhist religion is wholly due to the accident of its having been adopted by the low-caste kings of Magadha;” just as the Reformation of the English Church is entirely due to Henry VIII.’s passion for Ann Boleyn.

“Human sacrifices were common in Ancient India.”

“Sensual enjoyment is to the Turanian in all ages as the breath of life.” Poor Turanian! yet the worshippers of the Soma juice were Aryans, and the Mongols and Chagatais, who overran Asia and half Europe, are not generally known to have been debauchees.

“As a part of the reform which he (Sakya Muni) introduced, ancestral worship was abolished.” We thought his reform was a Turanian revival, and that ancestor-worship (which we understand to be meant) was an essential feature of Turanianism. But Turan is like the Proteus, and eludes capture by changing its form.

“No race ever permanently adopted Buddhism who had not previously been serpent-worshippers.” Quite untrue—the only serpent-worshippers we know of in Buddhist times were

the Kashmiris, and the Kashmiris did *not* permanently adopt Buddhism.

"A Turanian race, known as the Dravidians, entered India across the Lower Indus." True, that Dr. Caldwell finds among the Brahuīs of Beluchistan roots and inflexions similar to those of the Dravidian tongue. But may not the Prahuis have been an offshoot from the south of India? Modern ethnology has discovered an altogether unexpected relationship between the Dravidians and the Australian aborigines, which tends to unsettle our notions of their descent from Central Asia.

But the gem of Mr. Fergusson's writings is a short sentence, containing nine distinct assertions, of which seven are untrue; one is half-true; and only one true. He says that "the three leading features of Buddhism—atheism, metempsychosis, and absence of caste—are essentially Turanian, and found everywhere among people of that race, but are distinctly opposed to the feelings of the Aryans wherever they are found." These be brave words, and spoken without faltering; no expression of half-opinion which it would be possible to explain away. Let us test the value of a few of them. *Atheism is a leading feature of Buddhism.* Why, Buddhism absolutely revels in the enumeration of heavens and deities. It retained all the Hindu gods; it created new gods out of forms of the pure intellect; it raised saintly men into the ranks of gods, and worshipped not only its teachers, but the impressions of their feet and the trees under which they had rested. As we read the narratives and reflections of the Buddhist travellers, who see traces of deity everywhere, we are inclined to call them, as Paul called the Athenians, *δαισδαίμονες*, too much given to the worship of the gods. *Atheism is found everywhere among Turanians.* Untrue of those races to whom the name is correctly applied; still more untrue, if we give it the wider signification which Mr. Fergusson gives. *Atheism is distinctly opposed to the feelings of the Aryans wherever they are found.* The fact is that the atheistic attitude of mind is the product of an over-refined and dogmatic philosophy, it shows itself in a Lucretius, in a Helvetius, perhaps in a Comte, but it is utterly impossible in a simple and primitive people, such as the Turanians. Atheism is a feature, perhaps a disease, of the isolated thinker—an exaggeration of the scepticism which forms a stage, though a rude stage, in the history of all philosophies, and was reached as well by Brahman philosophers as by Buddhist philosophers—writing in the purest Sanscrit: by German as well as Greek. It was never the religion of a race or country, and the philosophical turn of mind which led the way to it is, so far as we know, strictly confined to the Aryan race. *Metempsychosis is a leading feature of Buddhism.* Here we have the one half-penny

worth of bread to all this sack ; but to assert that the doctrine is in any way especially Turanian is untrue ; while as to caste, it is merely a stage in the development of most civilized peoples, and does not appear in any way connected with race.

But it is time to leave the unprofitable task of pointing out errors which our limits do not allow us fully to expose, and state briefly what is known of serpent-worship in India. It probably existed in its fetish form among the Indian aborigines, from a very early period, as it does to this day ; but there is little trace of it in Vaidic or post-Vaidic literature, till the period of the great epics and of the development of Buddhism. At this period we find fully implanted in the Hindu mind the belief in an infernal hierarchy of serpents. In the *Mahābhārata* we meet with a city of the lower world, where *Vāsuki*, the serpent-king, reigns over myriads of golden serpents, with lovely wives of human form. In other places *Nāgas* are spoken of as dwelling in upper earth, and *Arjuna*, during his exile, marries the *Nāga* king's daughter at *Haridvāra*. Mr. Wheeler is inclined to regard this as an historical fact, and an instance of the confusion which in later writings is so frequent between the serpent, as a supernatural being, inhabiting the caves of *Pâtāla* and occasionally visiting the upper earth, either in his own or human form, and the tribe or sect devoted to his worship. The *Nāgas*, whom the Buddhist missionary converted, were, as we have already seen, human beings who had the reputation of an intimate connection with the serpent race. But the inventions of the *Mahābhārata* do not always, if at all, point at real history, and all that we can infer from the story of *Arjuna's* marriage, is, that the narrator did not consider an alliance with a female of the serpent race (and their females were of human form) too improbable for the purposes of his story. Mr. Cox calls Mr. Wheeler a Euhemerist, but Mr. Cox is given to hard names ; what he means is true enough, that Mr. Wheeler is ever striving to manufacture history out of legend, as unprofitable a task as spinning ropes of sea sand. Mr. Wheeler even assumes the *Manipūra* of the story to be Colonel MacCulloch's Manipur, east of Cachar, and he observes that the people of that country have a tradition of the visit of *Arjuna* ; but so do the people of the Siamese *Ayothia* believe that the Buddha preached in their city, and if all knowledge of the original *Ayodhia* had been lost, the tradition might have puzzled us. The *Manipūra* of *Arjuna's* wanderings was not far from *Haridvāra*, that is, close to the original *Nāga* country, and the name of the great snake *Takshaka* helps us to the same conclusion with the polyandry of the *Mahābhārata*, namely, that the events of the story were originally conceived as happening in a limited space bordering on the North-Western Himalayas. Buddhist history points to the same locality for the commence-

ment of Nāga influence on Indian thought and literature ; there is little of serpent story in the commencement, and we first hear of it in the Asoka inscriptions ; but as soon as the gradually widening circumference of Buddhism touched upon the North-West Himalayas, we find the Nāga element beginning to be conspicuous, and as the Kashmir valley tended to become more and more the fulcrum of the great bent lever of Buddhism, whose one limit stretched south-east through India and the other north-west through Central Asia to China, its snake-lore tended to become an inseparable, if not an essential, part of Buddhistic teaching. Nāgārjuna, the great apostle of the higher or advanced Buddhism, who was contemporary with Christ, did for the Buddhists what Josiah did for the Jews—he *found* the books of the law, the true teaching of the Buddhist Moses, which had been received by the Nāgas as it fell from the lips of Sākya-Muni, and preserved by them till the time was ripe for the world to receive it. No doubt this was a *façon de parler*, not unnatural in Kashmir, by which Nāgārjuna sought to give authority to his own speculations ; but when these speculations, adopted in a general council, became a law to Buddhism, they reflected on the Nāgas, the faithful guardians of the Word, an honour only second to that bestowed on the sacred Trinity of the Law, the Teacher, and the Church ; and henceforward we find the symbol of Nāga worship closely associated with the highest symbols of Buddhistic faith. The snake-people of Kashmir had adopted, had protected, had disseminated the teachings of Buddhism, and we see their reward in the sculptures of the Amravati enclosure, where Buddha is represented as supported by the Nāga's ponderous folds, or shaded by his protecting hood ; and where alternate reverence is paid to the relic-casket, the wheel, the sacred peepul, and the five-headed serpent.

Mr. Fergusson's speculations on modern Hindu religion are more curious than instructive. He lays down in a tone which brooks no contradiction, that Saivism is antagonistic to serpent-worship, while Vaishnavism, which is, in his opinion, only a modified Buddhism, encourages it. As is often the case with Mr. Fergusson, he happens to be wrong in his facts. A book as well known as Tod's *Rajasthan*, would have told him how often the serpent is found wreathed round the *lingam* ; and on his own showing the Saivite religion is both Turanian and given to human sacrifice, and therefore *ought* to have some connection with serpent-worship. Then, as to Vaishnavism being a degraded form of Buddhism, surely it mounts somewhat higher. Springing from Vaidic times, it first gathered form and force under the influence of Buddhism, true, but as an opposing influence. It was the reaction, the Brahmanical endeavour to array a powerful opposition to the attractive hero-worship of the Buddhists, which first led to the deification of Hindu

popular heroes as forms of Vishnu. The several *avatars* are so many forms of popular worship, compromises with popular superstition, intended to strengthen the hands of the Brahmans by bringing to their side the adherents of various religious sects ; and in her weakest hour Vaishnavism adopted the bold step of claiming even Buddhism as a slip from her side, and Buddha as an incarnation of her supreme god. But she never succeeded in establishing a connection between the two ; and as readers of Burnouf are well aware, the later Buddhism allied itself by preference with the Saivic forms of worship, and the *mélange* of the two cults, which seem at first sight so opposed to one another, forms one of the most curious episodes in the cycle of religious history. Vaishnavism thus would have adopted Buddhism, but failed ; the worship of the serpent she never sought to adopt. The steed and car at once of Vishnu, the bird Garuda, was the traditional enemy of the serpent tribe, and, what ought to be conclusive, there was no serpent-*avatar*. The part which the serpent played in the Hindu conceptions of the universe was indeed identical, whatever the deity whom the Hindu might by preference adore, and from the nature of that part, he could not be confounded with any god ; he inhabited the lower abysses, vast subterranean spaces, illuminated only by the native splendour of gold and gems, while the gods dwelt on the heights of Meru or floated through the skies.

Finally we come to the India of to-day, on which subject Mr. Fergusson prints valuable communications from Dr. Balfour and Colonel Meadows Taylor, which, however, do not so much point to any present or former establishment of a serpent religion, as to the prevalence, especially among the lower castes, of a diffused fetishism. Nor would we venture to point to the map and assert, in the absence of all information, that in this place or in that, snake-worship ought to be found. The respect paid to snakes in India, by the lower or semi-aboriginal classes is quite unconnected with their mythological import, and belongs to an earlier set of ideas. Among these classes, especially the inhabitants of the hilly districts, prevails to this day all that mass of crude notions about the divinity of external nature which together make up fetishism. Like the Aryan mythology, it originates in the ascription to the phenomena and powers of nature of personality and intelligence ; the difference is this, that the higher-class races ascribe such attributes mainly to things above, to the beautiful phenomena of dawn and twilight, to the victorious course of the sun in the heavens, to the mysterious life of flame ; while the lower races deify, it may be rivers, streams and trees, or it may be the animals which mock them by an approach to human personality, combined with an inexplicableness of demeanour and often a strange and startling power, which move fear as well as wonder. Wonder is

akin to adoration, and the measure of the imaginative power of a race (which keeps pace with its other powers), is to be found in the gods which it adores. But to this subject we shall return, when we come to illustrate our own views on the genesis of serpent-worship.

We have thus concluded our comment on Mr. Fergusson's introductory sketch ; and it is a matter for regret that the part of his book to which, from its bearing on our subject, we have been compelled to pay the closest attention, is precisely the part to which we can give the least praise. The strictly architectural matter which fills up most of the remaining letter-press is suggestive and useful, though of course not free from Mr. Fergusson's peculiar faults of haste to make theories, and undue confidence in them when made. He is apt at the interpretation of works of art, and with his assistance we shall now proceed to sketch the religious character of Sanchi and Amravati, especially in relation to the serpent-problem.

Sanchi belongs altogether to Buddhism ; the topes themselves to very early Buddhism. Both Mr. Fergusson and General Cunningham ascribe one tope to Asoka, and we may at least say that there exists no building in India which can make good its claim to be older. It was a tope of the ordinary kind, intended for relics, and connected with Viharas and the other apparatus of Buddhist worship, but quite bare of ornaments, for which we must look entirely to the gateways. These strange structures are covered with sculptures, to which Mr. Fergusson assigns the date of the first century of the Christian era.

In glancing over the copious illustrations of the gateways which Mr. Fergusson has given, our attention is attracted especially by Plate 24, which consists of two subjects lithographed from bas-reliefs in corresponding positions on the eastern and western gateways, and which tells us all that can be learnt on the subject of serpent-worship from the Sanchi sculptures, not very fertile in this department ; for, if we understand Mr. Fergusson correctly, there is but one other Nāga scene on all these gateways,—one in the southern gateway, of which we have a general photograph, but no details ; it does not appear to present any peculiarities. The upper subject in Plate 24 represents a number of men in adoration with clasped hands to the right and left of a temple, in the interior of which appears the upper portion of a five-headed cobra, represented as if alive, and with a vessel in front of it containing flame. The foreground of the picture consists of an old ascetic in a leafy hut, and a herd of animals of all domesticated species, crowded on the edge of a tank, immediately in front of the pagoda. It did not at first sight seem improbable that the fire was the object of worship, and the serpent merely its guardian ; but a comparison with Plate 70, which represents a similar scene, without the fire, shows that we have here undoubted

serpent-worshippers, who are apparently bringing their flocks and herds for benediction. It is important to mark the peculiarities of the people so engaged. They are all of the class, not unfrequently represented in these sculptures, whom General Cunningham takes for Buddhist priests or ascetics, but whom Mr. Fergusson, with greater probability, regards as a distinct race. They are kilted, and wear a cloak or mantle, with a head-dress which might consist of a long plait of their own hair, wound round the head in a conical or peaked form, or might be a twist of rope similarly disposed. They all wear beards, and the features, without approaching the Chinese, diverge from the Aryan type; they are snub-nosed, and somewhat flat-faced, and the stature seems intended to be short. The women are better clothed than those who seem to belong to the Aryan race; and altogether it is obvious that the difference is one of race, not one of function. They have not the dress, and are not engaged in the occupation of Buddhist priests; and this worship of the Nāga is, unless the fire-pot be a religious symbol, the only act of worship in which they are seen occupied. They frequently appear in this series of sculptures, occupied in domestic and sylvan tasks, or navigating a river in rude canoes; and in one instance some Aryan soldiers are waging a wanton war upon them in the woods. It therefore seems probable that they represent an aboriginal tribe, the Bhils or Minas of the locality, among whom may have been many powerful chiefs, rich in flocks and herds. About Nagpur and in the valleys towards the western sea, live the scattered remains of a shepherd-race, the Gaolas, whom tradition makes former rulers of the country; and Mr. Rivett-Carnac has discovered ornaments in the tumuli supposed to be their burial places, which remind him of these plates. But the Gaolas, or at all events the people of the tumuli, for the identification is not complete, were essentially equestrian, and these serpent-worshippers are never represented on horseback or with horses; so that it is difficult to say more of them than that they were an indigenous race, of the class which is ordinarily called aboriginal. Whether the object of adoration be conceived as a live or a sculptured snake cannot be ascertained. The little temple with its tank in front reminds us of Mr. Fergusson's description of the Kashmir temples, devoted, as he thinks, to the living serpent, and the representation of the five-headed Nāga in the midst of a scene of active life, is quite in accordance with the realistic surroundings of other imaginary beings in this series of drawings.

The lower figure gives us a totally different scene. A sacred tree springing from a raised altar, like that on which the *tulsi* or sacred basil is ordinarily grown, is surrounded above by winged figures and griffins, below by a group of human beings, presenting the ordinary Aryan type of features, and composed of

a rajah seated, surrounded by a harem of eleven women, sitting, standing, drinking, and playing on instruments, none of them with other clothes than a bead cincture below the waist, bangles on the legs and arms, and a hood or cloth drawn up above the forehead, and hanging down over the back. The rajah sits on a five-headed *nāga*, the coils of whose tail are visible beneath him, while the heads with expanded hoods form a canopy above him, and each of the female figures bears a small and single-headed serpent, with the head above her's, and the snake-body hanging down behind, but in so detached a position that it cannot be intended for a visible and corporeal ornament. Mr. Fergusson, by a singular omission, has never attempted even to guess at the artist's intention in depicting these protecting snakes. To our mind they are without doubt a purely artistic symbol,—the expression of the idea that the persons so represented were under the special protection of the snake deities of the lower world, and not intended to correspond with any visible external reality either, of living or of ornamental serpents. Most probably, the snake-people are those who have undergone the rite of initiation into a serpent-guild or mystery. They are in dress, aspect, and occupations, indistinguishable from the ordinary men and women (of Hindu types) in the sculptures; and, what is somewhat strange, they do not, like the aborigines in the upper drawing, appear to *worship* the serpent. He is their friend and minister, not their god. In this scene, they are not worshipping at all, but employed in friendly converse and music; and in the Amravati sculptures, they appear as devout Buddhists and worshippers of the Tathagata. Perhaps this tendency of the artists to idealize, to draw as externally visible what was merely a creation of the fancy, may throw some light on the strange *diskabille* of the women. Nothing in history or literature leads us to suppose that at this or any period the ladies of the upper classes appeared in public, and joined all ceremonials, without the scanty *modicum* of clothing which the commonest cooly woman of our day would not dispense with. The epics, the dramas, the Buddhist legends, the Greek accounts, are alike silent on a custom so strange, and we are driven to suppose that the representation of women as all but nude was a mere commonplace of artistic tradition.

To return to the religion of Sanchi: we find it to be Buddhism with an intruding reverence for the serpent more conspicuous in the newer than in the older sculptures. The actual worship of the snake as a fetish is, however, confined to the aborigines. The Buddhism of Sanchi embraces, with one exception, all the essential forms of that religion—the tree-worship, the worship of the sacred *stupas* or relic-caskets, of the wheel as symbol of the Law; and of the *trishul* or combined symbol of the Law, the Teacher,

and the Church; and delights as elsewhere in the representation of the great scenes of church-history, the miraculous Conception, the Conversion, the Assumption of the founder, and the victories of Asoka. But we find no trace of asceticism,—no priest with his begging-bowl, no monastery of shaven hermits in their yellow robes; instead of these we have love and war, and the profane delights of the wine cup. The bas-reliefs represent a flat and conventional Buddhism displaying the outward signs of the religion, but not its inner life, though some centuries later the Chinese travellers depict a severe and all-enfolding religious life with a strong bias to monasticism. It cannot be that the conventual life had not found its way into the Betwa valleys, for we find the remains of Viharas, and inscriptions that take us into the very heart of a devout Buddhism; but discipline is apt to relax, and we must suppose that before the great revival of religion under Nāgārjuna and the Council of Kashmir, Buddhism had relapsed into secularity, and the priests, like some abbots of the middle ages, and many Gosains of modern India, had adopted the habits, costumes and occupations of the world, and thrown off all that could remind them of their hated discipline. Lastly we find spreading themselves among the people, a sect evidently composed of persons conspicuous from wealth or position, who had borrowed from Kashmir the tradition of a special connection with the snake-deity, under whose protection they lived, and into whose form they were no doubt believed to be capable of changing themselves at will.

The enclosures of Amravati are, like the gateways of Sanchi, indicative of a striking originality of conception on the part of their architects. Mr. Fergusson dwells on the western, or as he prefers to say, Roman influence visible in the architecture, but that influence, conspicuous enough in the details of ornamentation, does not affect the general plan and aspect of the building, which must have been absolutely unique. Conceive a circular palisade of more than twice a man's height, and six hundred feet in circumference, composed of stone posts or rails placed at intervals about equal to their width, with a continuous base and a continuous frieze, the interstices being filled up by connecting slabs, three in each intercolumniation. That is the structure, and, for detail, we must suppose each column to consist of a circular disk and two half-disks, cut off by the base and upper frieze respectively; and the connecting slab to contain each a circular disk, all the disks being formed of a conventional floral ornament, treated with great variety and elegance, in a classical tone. The figure sculpture is conventional, but free. The space in each pillar between the central disk and the upper half-disk represents some scene of Buddhist or serpent-worship; the lower space a fanciful dance of dwarfs. The upper

frieze is extremely elegant ; it consists of a long undulating roll supported by heroic figures and displaying between its folds innumerable religious emblems and ornaments ; the lower one is a procession of boys and animals. This is what the spectator from without would notice, and it is hard to imagine a stranger sight—a circular enclosure like a cattle-pen, but adorned with all that artistic skill and a refined imagination could suggest. Entering one of the four gateways, he would find an inner enclosure, a ring within a ring, half the height of the outer one, and leaving a path of 30 feet wide between the two palisades ; but his attention would first be caught by the inner face of the palisade which he had already studied from without. The inner side differs only in the greater richness of detail ; the frieze is a crowded procession ; the central disks of each pillar and intercolumnar space represent each some historical scene, full of life and incident. There may have been some 240 of these legend disks ; and Mr. Fergusson supposes that the whole inner surface contained as many as 14,000 figures,—a wealth of detail to which our Gothic cathedrals afford no parallel. The inner enclosure is a sort of arcade, formed by the representation in the flat, at regular intervals, of those bell-shaped domes or chaityas, which Mr. Fergusson insists on calling Dagobas, and both domes and interstices are full of sculptural detail, principally composed of religious symbolisms. In the midst of all was a central tope, very small for its environments, and hardly visible from without, which was also rich in sculpture. Words cannot express the amount of material furnished by these sculptures to the history of religion, and only the study of the illustrations given in Mr. Fergusson's book can furnish any conception of their richness.

We are no critics of art, but we may observe without fear of error that these sculptures, from their variety, their elegance, and the freedom, both of the central groups and of all the intermediate and subordinate details, claim the highest place in the annals of Indian art. This is to some extent explained by the fact that the Greek aspect of much of the ornament points to a connexion of some sort with Kashmir and the countries formerly under Greek rule. Buddhism is more distinctly represented than in the Sanchi gateways, and in an aspect more correspondent with the traditions of its history. The shaven crowns of its priests are far from rare. The worship of the seated figure of Buddha, of the Chaitya, of the Bo tree, the miraculous history of Buddhism (especially the temptation scene), recur everywhere ; and the tone, compared with that of Sanchi, implies a religious revival, although perhaps the difference of situation between a secluded valley of Central India, and a seaport on the east coast in intercourse with Buddhist centres, such as Ceylon and Dan-

tapura (where the temple of Jagannath since rose)* may be credited with some part of the difference. We must not forget that Sanchi was adorned before the Buddhist revival in Kashmir under Nāgārjuna could have influenced Central India, while at Amravati we have the full benefit of that revival, combined with a distinct Kashmiri influence in architecture, and, as we should expect, a close connection with the Nāga, which had by this time become one of the most cherished symbols of the Buddhist faith. There is nothing therefore surprising in the increased number of representations both of serpents and of the serpent-protected people which we find in the later edifice. As at Sanchi, the Nāga folk do not differ from the people around them, except in the presence of their imagined serpent-guardians, and they appear in Amravati to be devout Buddhists. In Plate 62, they are worshipping a relic casket; in Plate 67, the object of adoration is the *trishul* emblem placed on a tall pillar, strikingly resembling the Semitic *Ashera*; in Plate 72, a group of persons, some of whom, only, are adorned with serpents, reverence the *trishul*; in Plate 78, the object of Nāga-worship is Buddha himself; in Plate 80, it is a cloth containing impressions of the sacred feet. The serpent, as protector of Buddhism, is strikingly displayed in Plate 76, which represents the Buddha himself as a Nāga king; that is to say, seated on the folds of an enormous serpent, whose seven expanded heads canopy him like an aureole; and in Plate 98, where the sacred relic casket is protected by two intertwining serpents. We find also the representation of the solitary serpent taking its place in due alternation with other objects of Buddhist worship—the Teacher, the *Dagoba*, the sacred *Bo* tree—in the inner frieze; and sometimes, as in Plate 50, assuming a conventional form, which cannot but remind us of the Assyrio-Indian honey-suckle ornament, so frequent in old Indian art. All this tends to efface the notion of a separate sect of serpent-worshippers; the “protected of the serpent” are not a sect, but a sort of masonic guild, which had been received into the bosom of Buddhism, and stood to it as Masonry stands to Christianity, or as the Orders stand to the Church. The only “serpent-worship” in all these sculptures is that of a non-Hindu people, the same whom we have seen on the Sanchi monuments, from which the architect may have adopted the group, as it is hard to suppose an aboriginal tribe stretching from the Betwa to the mouth of the Krishna, without a change in dress, manners, or religion.

* One of General Cunningham's happiest hits is his derivation of the three fetish-like figures of Jagannath and his sister and brother from three of the combined emblems of the

Buddhist Trinity, placed side by side as at Sanchi. See *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 359-360, and plate xxxii; also Mr. Fergusson's 30th plate. The resemblance is rude but unmistakable.

It is impossible, in the lack of material, to construct a history out of these sculptures. We can only surmise, as we did in the case of the Kambodian temples, that the great dislocations of national ties which followed the Scythic invasions of Upper India, dispersed the Kashmiri Buddhists over the rest of the Indian Continent, and that the builders of Amravati employed the aid of artists familiar with the Greek sculptures of the neighbouring Bactria, and carrying with them those Nāga traditions, which, as affiliated into Buddhism, would be welcome to Buddhists everywhere. We are not forced to suppose an immigration *en masse*, or even the popular prevalence of the Nāga idea; it is enough to hold that, as the best architects and designers in India came from the province peculiarly given to the Nāga beliefs, and as these beliefs fitted in with the Hindu, and still more with the Buddhist traditions of the time, there was full opportunity to expatiate on them without shocking popular prejudices; and thus the Nāgas may have assumed a pre-eminence in sculpture out of proportion to their actual prevalence in the public mind. To represent Amravati as a temple devoted to serpent-worship is simply an instance of slavery to a ruling idea. The serpent is the minister and slave of the Tathagata, and is nowhere represented as an object of independent worship except among a semi-civilized woodland tribe.

Before finally summing up the conclusions at which we have arrived, many of which have been anticipated in our review of Mr. Fergusson's book, we have to devote a few words to another theory of serpent-worship which has recently been brought forward. We might say two: but the Phallic notions supported by Dr. Donaldson and by Mr. Cox,* in his recent work on the Mythology of the Aryan Nations, are hardly suited for discussion, and we can only observe that though in the drawings from Amravati now before us, there are distinct indications (not noticed by Mr. Fergusson) of the worship of the Sakti of Siva in its best known emblem; and though Central India displays indications of a connection between the *lingam* cult and that of the serpent, there is little reason to believe the association to be more than accidental.

Mr. McLennan in some interesting papers in the *Fortnightly Review*, has developed a theory which, from its ingenuity as well as from the number of difficulties which it meets, cannot fail to attract attention; indeed, it has already been adopted and expanded by a master in speculative science, Mr. Herbert Spencer. It is therefore worth our while to devote a page, or

* Serpentium cultum a Phallico ritu, quævis, ne iudice, perperam, multi viri boni; hodie vir doctus (ac sacerdos Anglicanus) G.

W. Cox haud erubuit sacrosanctum crucis symbolum ab eodem impuro fonte deducere.

two to this theory, which has been suggested* by the *totems* of the Red Indian and Australian tribes. The *totem* is generally an animal, but frequently a plant, and sometimes an inanimate or celestial being, as the sea or sun. It is at once the protecting deity, and the mythical ancestor of the tribe,—that is to say, the tribe whose *totem* is a wolf, hold the wolf in reverence, spare its life, perhaps give it offerings, and regard it as friend and brother, and believe that their original ancestor was literally a wolf. The tribe is known as “the wolves;” the qualities of the wolf are ascribed to them, and in story their actions figure as those of real wolves. Now the theory simply extends this idea from the aborigines of America and Australia to the world at large, to the ancestors of all nations, and we are called upon to suppose that whenever we find the wolf, for instance, in a story acting in a manner that cannot be interpreted of real wolves, whenever we find religious observances or etymologies connected with the wolf, we have there traces of some old tribe where *totem* was the wolf. This is an assumption, and a very considerable one, as Mr. McLennan frankly admits; but he thinks it can be justified by the number of historical difficulties which it clears up. Unfortunately Mr. McLennan is compelled to manufacture difficulties in order to explain them, and rests his case to some extent on very doubtful etymologies. We take his article on the Bull for an example, because it is one of the fullest, for he has specially chosen the zodiacal animals for his illustrations. The bull occurs frequently enough in religious history and symbolism. We have Siva’s bull Nandi, and the bull Apis of Egypt; we have the bull-headed Dionysus, and the bull of Nineveh; and as the cow is specifically the same as the bull, we have all the reverence paid to the cow in India to account for. Now we must suppose that in all these countries a bull-tribe worshipped a mythical ancestor, whom they believed to have been an actual bull,—or rather a pair of such ancestors—the bull and cow. This bull-tribe colonized the Crimea, hence called the Tauric peninsula; they occupied Piedmont, hence Turin, or the city of the Taurini; they founded Taormini (Tauromenium) on the Sicilian coast; they were found amongst the Israelites, who were constantly relapsing into the worship of the calf. Minos, the first of civilized men (*cf.* Manu and the Teutonic Mannus)* had relations with them, hence the Minotaur; Pasiphae’s amour was a connection with one of the tribe, while another carried Europa across the Hellespont. Against all this, what have we to say except what we have said, that it is an assumption, into the service of which are pressed a thousand coincidences? The fact that the bull was an object or an accompaniment of worship in many countries, and took a part in many myths, remains, but of the bull as eponym of a

tribe, we have no historical trace whatever. Nor is such a notion in the least necessary ; in India, for instance, where the cow, not the bull (except in the case of Siva's companion), is the object of reverence, that reverence far exceeds the limits of any single tribe, and is sufficiently well explained by the natural importance which a pastoral herd would give to the flocks and herds which supplied its food and constituted its property. How valuable the cow, not as a god or deified ancestor, but as a possession—for its milk and butter, and for its use in ploughing, perhaps in early times also for its flesh, was to the first Aryan occupants of Northern India, is proved by every page of the Rig Veda, as well as by the unerring test of etymology ; the daughter of the house was the *duhita* or milkmaid ; the tribes were distinguished as *gotras*, by their possession of distinct herds ; the heaven of Vishnu was *goloka* or the world of cows. Then again, nations such as the Assyrians and Egyptians gave animal characters to their gods to symbolise the possession of certain attributes of which the animals were regarded as emblematic ; thus the bull signified strength and vigour, especially generative vigour ; and this is also the secret of his connexion with Siva. If Europa be merely the broad spread of dawn (and Mr. Max Müller will not allow us to doubt it), the bull who carries her westward is only the sun in its daily journey. And for the etymologies, it is at the least singular that mountains in Asia Minor, and Keltic and Lignurian tribes along the shores of the Black Sea, or at the foot of the Alps, should bear names derived from Greek and Latin. *Tur* is in Aramaic a mountain or rock (whence also *Tyre*), which sufficiently accounts for Mons Taurus ; and the derivation of most of the other places with similar names is clearly to be looked for among the Keltic languages. There is a tendency among all mythological theorists to let their theory run away with them, and to forget that in the most primitive nations innumerable ideas are struggling for expression, and that the varied products of observation, reflection, and fancy are not pitched upon one key-note, or to be explained by a single formula. The pestilent heresy of the Arkites is now happily extinct ; but the more scientific school of modern mythologists rob all old stories of their charm by suggesting the monotonous solar explanation, and now we have a system built upon the customs of Australian savages. The one common postulate in all these systems is the ridiculous mental poverty of our ancestors ; but Mr. Herbert Spencer (one of the greatest benefactors of science, and the last person in the world we would willingly be suspected of sneering at), has carried this assumption so far as gravely to lay down that the worship of animals, if not all worship, arose from a mistaken use of nicknames. There is an *hiatus*, he says, in Mr. McLennan's hypothesis. Admitting, too hastily as it seems to us, that bull and

serpent tribes all over the world paid homage to a supposed bull or serpent ancestor ; how, he asks, could the belief in such an ancestor have arisen ? And he supposes that the actual ancestor, if a powerful thick-necked man, was known to his friends as "the Bull," or if a supple insinuating man, as "the Snake," and that when the personalities of those characters were forgotten, and their nicknames only remembered, their descendants were silly enough, not in one but in every case, to take the metaphor for a fact, and suppose themselves really descended from a bull or a snake. So with astronomical myths ; if the ancients said "the Moon loves Endymion" it was no poetical way of expressing that the moon follows the sinking sun, but a plain historical fact, to wit, that some village beauty surnamed "the Moon" was enamoured of a young man of aquatic propensities, hence called "the Diver." Later ages, oblivious of this important fact, transferred its scene from earth to heaven ; and thus all mythology is mere village gossip *translated*. We cannot say that the subject is to our minds cleared up ; it is hard enough to believe that the remark "Our father was the Snake" should have been transmuted into "Our father was a serpent ;" it is harder still to follow the corollary,— "therefore let us bow down and worship him."

But we have forgotten Mr. McLennan in the ardour of his enthusiastic disciple ; it remains to test his theory by its application to our immediate subject. The few pages which he devotes to serpent-worship contain a brief review of the facts, with many rash and dangerous identifications, and a set of conclusions drawn out in order. He says that the Nāgas of Assam are so called from the serpent god ; this is most unlikely, as they have no special serpent traditions, and were probably so called as naked savages. He says that Nāg is a family or stock-name among the Hindus, whereas, according to the authority he quotes, it is a common name among all families and castes. But Mr. McLennan's notion of the original nature of caste is derived from the practice in Australia, where the descendants of a common male ancestor form tribes equivalent to castes, and the descendants of a common female ancestor form a kind of transverse division into *houses*, each of which may be found in any of the castes, as the law of intermarriage forbids a man from marrying into his own *house*. It is needless to say that no such custom ever prevailed in India. Again he says, quoting Bryant, that Æthiopians, Europeans, Oropians, are tribal names compounded with *Ops*, the serpent ! and lastly, he says that Sparta swarmed with serpents, "that is, was inhabited by Ophites ;" as if a simple fact of natural history could not have been worth recording. His conclusions are five, *viz.*—(1) that the serpent was worshipped by diverse races of men ; (2) that serpent-worship is of the highest antiquity ; (3) that the worshippers in many cases believed them-

selves to be of serpent-descent ; (4) that they were often named after their god and ancestor, serpents ; and (5) that the serpent was in many cases used as a badge. With these conclusions, qualified as they are, we cannot quarrel ; but we quarrel with the system formed upon them. The serpent-worship of antiquity was, as we shall see, a mere fetish-worship, unconnected with the notion of descent. With the Nāga folk of Kashmir, the serpent was not a mythical ancestor, but one of a race of supernatural beings, existing side by side with men, and forming occasional alliances with them. The Nāga emblem or badge implies serpent-protection, and not serpent-descent, or serpent-worship. And in fact, the particular combination which is required by Mr. McLennan's theory—of a people with the serpent name and badge claiming descent from the serpent and worshipping him as a god—is nowhere to be found in history.

Before setting in order our own conclusions on the subject of serpent-worship, it is necessary to say a few words on that of trees. The title of Mr. Fergusson's book is *Tree and Serpent Worship*, and not only this, but his frequent juxtaposition of the two cults, suggests the idea of an intimate connexion between them. But not only was there never a religion of tree and serpent worship ; there never was an independent religion of tree-worship at all ; it was merely a secondary addition to other cults. The tree was not a god, but an emblem or memorial of a god. Its religious significance was accidental and derived ; it belongs to almost all forms of religion, and cannot by any subtlety of argumentation be traced to any one source. We may classify the principal religious uses of the tree as follows :—

Firstly,—the purely memorial tree. In hot countries, people constantly resort to the shade of trees for meetings, contracts, business of every kind ; events become associated with the tree under which they happened ; evidence is tested, as in the case of Susannah, by questions about the species of tree in the shade of which the occurrence took place. Naturally, if the events so connected with particular trees belong to a series of events important for their historical or spiritual results, the tree assumed some portion of the interest attaching to the events ; thus the oak under which Abraham entertained the angels at Mamre, was revered by the Jews at all periods of their history, and at one time attracted actual worship ; and thus the *bo* tree or pipal of Buddhagaya under which Śākya Muni attained the full glory of Buddhahood, became a sacred tree ; slips of it were planted wherever Buddha was revered ; and the respect paid to the individual tree gradually extended itself to the species. The Christian worship of the wood of the Cross is an instance of the same kind, and the poetical addresses to the Cross as a tree savour greatly of idolatry. Thus Fortunatus :—

Fertilitate potens, o dulce et nobile lignum,
Quando tuis ramis tam nova poma geris;
Cujus odore novæ defuncta cadavera surgunt,
Et redeunt vitæ qui caruere die.

and a later hymnist :—

Tu arborum regina,
Salutis medicina,
Pressorum es levamen.
Et tristum solamen.
O sacrosanctum lignum
Tu vitæ nostræ signum,
Tulisti fructum Jesum,
Humani cordis esum. *

Mr. Fergusson aptly remarks that the *Sainte Chapelle* of Paris, that gem of mediæval art, built to enshrine a piece of the true cross, was the last great temple raised to tree-worship; he might have added, the first, for where the living tree was revered, it was itself the temple, and rather shine than deity.

All the tree-worship in Mr. Fergusson's illustration is simply the reverence paid to the Buddhist memorial trees. We have spoken of the pipal or *asvattha* tree, under which Sâkya routed the armies of the tempter and attained perfection,—the most sacred of spots to a Buddhist, scene at once of the Temptation and the Transfiguration. In the central period of Buddhist development, the imagination of its devotees peopled the world's whole past, as its artists peopled their temple vistas, with majestic figures of solitary Buddhas, relieving the nakedness of space by the grand but monotonous perspective of infinite repetition. The features of the nearer Buddhas were tolerably distinct, and in all their uniformity a certain variety made itself visible within narrow limits. Their history is parallel without being identical. If Sâkya obtained the blessing under a pipal tree, Krakuschanda, Kanakamuni and Kâsyapâ, his successors in the present age, obtained the same blessing, but each under a different tree, and the votaries who devoted their thoughts especially to either of these earlier Buddhas, who selected him, so to speak, for their patron saint, bestowed a special reverence on his sacred tree. Hence the multiplicity of trees to which Buddhism paid divine honours.

Secondly,—there was an allegorical meaning which attached to the tree as an emblem of life. The tree possesses many qualities which the wide eyes of an early and thoughtful race, searching the universe for mystic meanings to connect the world of thought with the world of things, would seize on as symbolic. Its perennial life, renewing itself with every spring, while generation after

generation of those that sported in infancy under its branches have sunk into the dust; its connection with the three worlds, for, firmly set in the earth, it spreads its roots into the under-world and its branches to heaven— *

“Quantum vertice ad auras
Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit”—

concur to render it a picturesque image of the life of the universe. From its wood was produced fire, the servant and the source of civilization, while from its sap was brewed an exhilarating liquor which redoubled the vital function, and brought man nearer to the gods; and thus while primitive races all over the world conceived the simple idea of reaching heaven by climbing the loftiest trees, their more advanced brethren brought heaven home to themselves by quaffing the mystic juice which produced intoxication,—an idea which we recognize as well in the Homa or Soma of the Eastern Aryans, as in the Tree of Life of that singular Aryan myth which prefaces the earliest of the Semitic books.* But the symbolical meaning of the tree nowhere assumes a grander or completer form than in the Scandinavian myth of the ash Yggdrasil, whose branches overshadow the world and the gods dwell among them, while its roots stretch into the under-world and the abode of serpents. The clouds are its foliage seen from far; and the dew that distils from its branches is the rain. The tree thus took an important place in human thought, but did not in this aspect enter into the *apparatus* of worship; and, as the tree of life, it was unknown to Buddhism.

Thirdly.—Various utilities, real, or what we term magical, attached veneration to various species of tree. The *soma* we have spoken of; the leaves or berries of some trees had medicinal properties, or kept off evil spirits; the wood of others no noxious animal would touch. A tree seen by Huc in Thibet had the mystic name of Buddha inscribed upon every leaf, reminding us of the heavenly tree of the poet

Within whose secret growth the Dove
Sometimes is felt to be,
While every leaf that His plumes touch
Saith His name audibly;—

* The conception of a garden with its four streams flowing in four directions, is surely of the same origin as that of Meru the abode of the gods with its four streams—the Chakshu (Qxus), Sîtâ, Alakanandâ, and Bhadrâ; the Soma tree we have referred to above, and the serpent as a type of evil belongs to Perso-Indian ideas; a sword was waved to guard the

Soma sacrifice (see Haug), while the Cherubim, who do not re-appear in Scripture except in writings which do not profess to have been composed before the Captivity when Judaism was brought* into contact with an Aryan people, are etymologically γρυγγες or griffins, and correspond with Garuda, the great enemy of the serpent.

and from some such incidental charm or power particular trees have always been revered by particular nations, whatever their form of religion.

Fourthly.—Trees were worshipped in Palestine and adjacent countries in connection with the rites of Ashtoreth. The Asherah ("groves" of the English version) were upright stocks which had the significance of the lingam, and were planted and replanted like French Trees of Liberty. The May-poles of our own country, a relic of the great festival which signalized the return of spring, had no doubt a similar origin.

Serpent-worship presents a more difficult problem, for its meaning and origin are far more recondite; and in endeavouring to explain them we shall be forced to carry our readers over the whole range of early religion, for into almost every stage of the progressively developing fabric of religious thought the serpent either habitually or incidentally intruded himself.

All religions range themselves under one of two types, the earlier or *spontaneous* type, and the later or *prophetic* type—the former being the religions that sprang up in men's minds, the latter the religions that were taught. In the old or spontaneous type the sphere of religion was vastly more extensive than in the new; it embraced all the *unknown*, all men's thoughts about things external to themselves of which they did not comprehend the laws of action. Further, the rudest and least contemplative people regarded with religious awe whatever had life and motion external to themselves; and at first they were not so much attracted by meteoric phenomena, the blowing winds, the travelling sun and the glowing clouds, as by the creeping and moving things around. They took a child-like interest in every form of life which was not their own, and regarded whatever was different from themselves, whatever they could not mould or turn at their will, as some power which might work them good or evil, and which might be propitiated by worship. Here we have animal worship, the rudest form of all. If we watch a child, we observe that it looks with mysterious awe upon the strange animal forms which come and go close before it; while to the motions of the sun and moon, and those atmospheric phenomena which charm or terrify the growing youth, it is comparatively indifferent. So with the childhood of the race; the roar of the beast, the quick motion of the serpent, the flight of the bird, affected its imagination more than sunsets or sunrises, or those slow motions of the heavenly bodies which it required generations to observe. Add to this the actual ever-present dread of wild animals, which makes a serious element of life to those who live where they abound, and we need no longer wonder that religion began with animal worship. In time men

found that animal life was nothing so wonderful after all ; it was a life like their own, but obviously inferior in capacity and in resources. They could defend themselves against some animals ; they could regulate the movements of others and tame them to their uses. When first the cow⁴ was taught to follow Jabel to the milking shed, the mystery that surrounded animal life was gone ; the animals were no longer gods, but God's gifts or God's scourges, or they came within the domain of law, and became facts of natural history. But meanwhile men had lifted their eyes to the heavens to find God there—in the varying forces of the wind, now destructive and now refreshing ; in the rain that increased their wealth and the storms that marred it ; in the sun and the moon and all the host of heaven. They revelled in the charms of sunrise, and shuddered at the coming of night ; they wove innumerable fancies about the struggle between the sun and the clouds, the never ending, still beginning, battle of heaven. Here, they thought, are powers indeed superior to man, powers which man cannot measure or understand, yet which make man's happiness and misery ; powers which should be humbly adored, and propitiated by sacrifice and prayer. And there was one earthly thing, the invention of man, which yet partook of the nature of these heavenly things, and to which sacrifice was most fittingly offered, for it devoured the sacrifice before their eyes with delight,—the powerful and mysterious Fire. Here, in the worship of the earthly and heavenly fire, we have the foundation of all the Aryan religions and apparently of the Turanian religions of Central Asia also. *Lastly*, men turned their thoughts to themselves ; in the process by which the race is continued, they found something mysterious and therefore divine, while after all the strongest and most inexplicable object of thought in the universe was the thinking subject itself ; and thus a change came over men's ideas of religion, which is clearly reflected in the post-Vaidic literature ; though in Greece the change was antecedent to the composition of books. Thus all religions of the old type are regulated by the one formula—to respect as divine all forces which we observe, but which we cannot understand ; and the field of religion contracts on one side and expands on the other, contracts with increasing intelligence, expands with more far-reaching observation.* The movements are parallel, and man is never left without something to wonder at and to worship. In describing the development of ideas of worship, we do not assume that all peoples entered all these stages simultaneously. Some races have lagged behind at every stage, and in every race the coarser and less imaginative class of the population has lagged behind the others. Each stage presents us with notions and practices derived from an earlier one, and, though more rare, with anticipations of a later.

Now, it will be observed that when religion has reached the stage indicated by the Rigveda, men had not arrived at the notion of distinct personal gods. Indra, Varuna and the rest are powers of nature, or manifestations of the Great Power; for to the deeper thinkers among the hymnists, they melt into one. But in the Homeric tales, the gods, though etymologically of the same class, are distinct persons of sharply defined character. Men no longer worshipped powers, but gods; and the actions ascribed to them were no longer myths, that is to say, phenomena of nature, described in terms borrowed from personality, because such terms came more naturally to the youthful mind, but quasi-human actions, fitting the preconceived notions of the character of each god, and either adapted from the old myths, or *invented* by poets and priests, a class of men who claimed, and were believed, to have special knowledge of all that related to the gods. The facts of the old religions were natural phenomena, which every man had observed for himself; the facts of the new religions were revelations, which men received on the authority of priests or prophets, regarding an invisible God and an unseen world. Compare Krishna with the old Varuna: Varuna was the pure blue canopy of heaven, which men by a common impulse had agreed to hold as one of the great protecting and beneficent powers; none knew or could tell aught of Varuna but what all men could observe with their own eyes,—that he covered all, that he was bright and stainless, that he embraced the earth as his bride; while Krishna, a purely human god, corresponded to nothing in nature, and all that was known of him was, apart from the tradition of the Jadava warrior, preserved by the bard, revealed truth communicated from above to some favoured recipient. Buddhism, Muhammadanism and all modern religions are essentially of this type, and indeed no other is now conceivable. All that men have observed, or can observe, has long ago come under the domain of science; religions are built on statements of fact not cognizable by the intellect, and taken on trust upon the authority of a teacher.

Two steps more; the teacher as the medium through whom truths so important are made known to man, attracts no small share of honour to himself; in some religions, as in Buddhism, almost all the honour; and we arrive at the worship of saints, and inspired or deified men; and historical men once established as objects of worship, inherent *fetishism* seizes upon relics, upon everything that reminds men of the persons and history of their teacher, and transforms these into objects of worship.*

Now it is clear that serpent-worship, if it ever existed as an

* Our sketch of a classification of tabular form, for the sake of clear-religions may be exhibited in a *ness* :—

independent religion, belongs to the first of our six types, that of fetishism ; but supposing the reverence for the serpent to be once established we might expect to find a recurrence of it in religions belonging to the other heads. In elemental religion the serpent might be used as a myth or figure of speech, designating certain elemental phenomena ; in the religions connected with the function of life, and which from the complexity of their ideas (and from other causes) deal largely in emblems, it might recur as a symbol ; we shall find it, in India at least, forming an object of revelation, and we have already seen it honoured by a connection with the history of one great deified teacher, while its pictorial representations take their place among the most valued memorials of his religion. This resuscitation of serpent-worship under the other great types of religion rests upon two facts, which are of immense moment in religious history ; (1) the survival of religious ideas among the less advanced persons of a community which has entered into a stage of higher development ; and (2) the efforts at conciliation made by an organized priesthood, desirous of extending their sway over men whose minds are wedded to other cults.

Firstly,—we have fetishism. As we have seen, the infant race is wonderfully interested by the movements of the animal world, and this interest, perhaps from the first not unmingled with fear, is heightened by the experience of actual danger. The serpent would early become the subject of special wonder and fear. Its mysterious motions, its sudden appearances and disappearances, the obscurity that hangs over its life (compared for instance with birds who build, and lay, and hatch before our eyes)—all these things would invest it with those attributes which disposed simple minds to worship ; and when experience taught the dangerous qualities of many serpents, when the bite of a hidden enemy in the long grass, or the sudden dart from a tree, prostrated health and strength, when the serpent became a daily and hourly dread, means of propitiation would be discussed in many a woodland household ; and each man for himself, or the house-father for his

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|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | 1. The worship of animals, (fetishism). |
| | 2. Elemental religions,—or the worship of fire, of the heavenly bodies, and of meteoric phenomena. |
| A. Spontaneous religions founded on observation. | 3. Worship connected with the phenomena of life,—as the worship of the <i>pitris</i> or ancestors, that of the <i>lingam</i> , and the worship of the principle of life and thought in Brahman or Odin. |
| | 4. The worship of a revealed God or Gods. |
| B. Prophetic religions founded on revelation. | 5. Hagiolatry—the worship of prophets or saints. |
| | 6. Relic worship. |

family, would deposit in some specially haunted spot his oblations of drink or food, and accompany them with the ceremonies he deemed most appropriate. A mysterious dread associated itself with the serpentine form, with the harmless as well as the fatal species ; and when the wisdom of some more observant rustic had discovered that there were harmless and even tameable serpents, he would, with simple and perhaps not ineffectual craft, employ the innocuous monsters as protectors of his cabin from intrusion, and his goods from theft. The serpent-tamer would be among the wisest of mankind, and would show himself in public accompanied by his dreaded charges, to increase the reverence which he found so useful. Thus we have the germs of the three aspects in which the serpent is worshipped by savage tribes ; (1) as a dreaded enemy ; (2) as protector of the house and of treasures ; (3) as the accompaniment and attribute of wisdom. In all tropical countries the worship of fear arose, and its traditions spread far beyond the regions where it originated. In America the rattlesnake, in India and Egypt the hooded cobra, everywhere the most deadly of the order, was the type selected for respect ; while in England and Scandinavia, and where the personal danger from serpents was at a *minimum*, the respect for them assumed strange and fantastic forms, betraying an exotic origin. The tradition of fatal serpents, growing as it travelled, produced wild legends of dragons, and portentous carvings of many-folded monsters. As the protector of houses, the living serpent is in actual employment in South India and Ceylon, though use must long ago have worn away its efficacy ; and as the protector of treasures, it appears in the legends of countries as far apart as Greece, Germany and India, the list concluding with that protection of the Buddhist sacred lore to which we have so frequently referred. When village communities set up temples, the temple would naturally become the public treasure-house, and the living python was in early times a very practical protector against sacrilege. So in the story the fleece of Colchis hung in a temple, and was guarded by a dragon ; and we find in historic times that the sacred serpent formed one of the ordinary "properties" of a Grecian temple. It would not surprise us if among the ruder classes the temple-serpent, originally a mere servant and protector of the god, attracted partly from its sacred home, partly from inherent fetishism, the honour of the god, and became confounded with the god itself ; and this must have happened in Kashmir, for it is most improbable that temples, obviously the work of an intelligent and artistic race, familiar with the higher forms of religion, should have been erected for the worship of a fetish, which, sufficiently appropriate for semi-savages would have been felt by men of culture to be degrading : lastly, we find the serpent as an attribute

of wisdom, and especially of the healing art ; and thus the itinerant medicine-man of the primæval settlement, who conciliated rustic respect by appearing with a familiar in the guise of a tame serpent, became the prototype of the Epidaurian Asklepios and of the personified Hygieia, as well as of other teachers of hidden lore, and givers of the knowledge which leads to prosperity—Thoth and Taunt and Kadmos. As a healer, too, we find the serpent in our Old Testament narrative, from which it was adopted as a type of Christ. In Captain Burton's account of Dahomey, we find prominent at the present day all these characteristics of the fetish worship of the serpent. It is at once an object of fear, the guardian of the temples, and the oracular and omniscient god.

Secondly.—In the stage of religion in which men regarded nature in her more mysterious and universal workings, rather than in the coarse and casual forms of bird and beast, which saw the workings of the powers superior to man in the phenomena of day and night, of sunset and sunrise, of fire and wind, the *worship* of the serpent finds no place ; but as, for reasons which this is not the place to recount, it happened that the evolution of myths was coincident with that stage of religious belief, it cannot surprise us to find the serpent, one of man's familiar enemies, employed as an illustration of atmospheric phenomena, and thus gradually obtaining a moral meaning. The sun's contest with the powers of darkness was described in many different ways, and originated a whole body of myths. Night is the thief (Vritra) who hides away the cows of India, or Pani the seducer, tempter of Saramâ, the twilight, but especially it is a serpent or dragon slain by the victorious sun. In the Vedas the serpent is Ahi ; in the Avesta, it is by a dialectic change Azi, ordinarily Azi-dâhaka, the biting serpent ; in the Phœnician mythology Typhon, the dragon of darkness and storms. As Indra slays Ahi, so all the solar heroes signalize their prowess by the destruction of a serpentine enemy. Phœbus smites the Python, Herakles slays Echidna (etymologically connected with Ahi) as well as the many-headed Hydra, which especially represents the innumerable exhalations from pools and rivers, dissipated by the morning sun. The Zohak of the Shahnameh—a human form with serpents growing out of his shoulders—is a reflection of the Azi-dâhaka, and slain like him by Feridun (Thraetaona). The myth is obviously adapted to assume a moral or spiritual form ; but in India the current of thought did not run in that direction. Persia, coming in contact with Hebrew spiritualism, gave to the Hebrews the serpent, its type of physical evil, to be transformed into a type of moral evil ; it became "that old serpent, the Devil ;" hence the story of Eden, Persian in all the details of outward form, and the Apocalyptic Dragon ; and hence the frequency of the same type in Christian legend and art. A Saint George smit-

ing the dragon is no longer a type of the sun smiting and dispersing the clouds of night, but of the Christian warrior overcoming his adversary the Devil. Yet, like all these fancies, it had its origin in the exclamation of some young "Ur-Aryan" hero whom the triumph of daybreak reminded of his own victory over the serpent-brood that infested his valley.

On our third religious stage—the emblematic use of the serpent—we need not linger long. The Egyptians, prone to seize upon the analogies between the physical and spiritual world, assumed the serpent, which, like other cold-blooded animals, lives long, and which renews its integument with the renewed year, as a type of eternity and rejuvenescence, and there seems some reason to believe that with the Indian Saivites, it assumed a Phallic significance.

Next, the vague conceptions of supernatural powers which prevailed in early times, gave place to notions of God and the gods, of heaven and hell, too precise and definite in form for mere guess-work, and therefore believed to rest upon the authority of inspired sages. Thus the religions of India and Greece assumed the same type which we find in Semitic religion when it first meets our eye. This is the period of systems of religion, of priestly guilds, of books and codes. Even here we find the serpent, which fills a definite place in the Hindu system of belief about the other world. As the heavens of the gods resting on Meru occupied successive stages in the sky, so beneath the earth were vast caverns (Pâtâla), the abodes of the serpents, who formed an infernal hierarchy correspondent with the celestial hierarchy. The serpents were supernatural beings, endowed with powers beyond those of ordinary men, though not commensurable with the powers of the gods, or the yet more stupendous potency which the force of holiness and austerity won for the sages. They protected individuals or tribes, and shared their power with their favourites; they influenced the lower sky, and produced tempests (which looks like a reminiscence of the Vaidic metaphor, misunderstood by a later age); and they could adopt the human shape at will. Indeed, their women appear from the Mahâbhârata to retain a beautiful human form even in their subterranean homes. Like the gods, the serpent-race occasionally visited earth, married the daughters of men, and gave their own daughters in marriage to men; and they were bound, like human beings, by the law of right or wrong, and amenable to moral influences. They were not spirits of evil, but kindly beings, who helped the heroes of many a tale in their distress. A belief so strange, and at the same time so popular, though forming part of a system of revelation, must have sprung up spontaneously in the popular mind, and must have survived from the set of beliefs which existed before the growth of priest-made religions. Indeed, it may be said that most wide-

could transmute themselves into his shape at pleasure ; they were serpent-rajās in human form. We see them in the sculptures, sitting upon his folds and shielded by his hood,* but in dress and occupation resembling ordinary princes. Now we read in Buddhist history that the missionaries of the first great expansion in Asoka's time converted myriads of Nāgas in Kashmir. Partly, of course, this is an exaggeration suitable to the spirit of Buddhist tradition, which delights in representing Yakshas, Pretas, and all the spirits of earth and air seeking the One Refuge, and joining the One Church ; but the conversion of the Nāgas is insisted on with an emphasis which leaves no doubt that it must have had an historical meaning ; and that meaning we find in the conversion of these great Nāga rajās, of human flesh and blood, but closely connected in men's minds with the serpent race. When they became Buddhists, they none the more ceased to be serpent lords. "*Incende quod adorasti*" was no maxim of Hindu religious reform, and the serpent kings became permanent supporters of the new faith. Buddhism flourished in Kashmir when decaying elsewhere, and its great revival under Kanishka brought the Nāga rajās into prominence as supporters of the faith. The teaching of Nāgārjuna, probably one of the guild, and the founder of the doctrine of the Greater Vehicle, which soon drove the earlier and simpler forms of Buddhism from the field, made Kashmir the second great Buddhistical centre ; and when he announced that the Nāgas (in their capacity as guardians of treasures) had been the preservers of the faith till brighter times, the serpent entered at once into the new form of Buddhism as the valued symbol which reminded the devotee of the protection of his faith, just as the earlier use of the *Bo* tree reminded him of its first promulgation. There seems to be good legendary ground for the supposition that the Nāga rajās dispersed themselves through Hindustan as supporters of the new school of Buddhism, and it may be in that capacity that we find them occurring so frequently in the sculptures ; but for the sculptures themselves we have no right to infer more than that Kashmirian architects delighted to embody in their work scenes from the tradition and history of their own country. We know too little of the details of the Kambodian temples to speak with certainty ; but it appears probable that the Nāga element in these had the same origin, and that the artists revelled in representations which reminded them of their distant home. The Nāga king there adorns scenes of orthodox Hindu religion and story, just as at

* The employment of the cobra's hood as the protection of a distinguished person, or of an infant destined to be distinguished, is common in Indian art and legend, and recurs in the annals of more than one princely family.

Amravati he more appropriately adorned a temple devoted to the new development of Buddhism.

When Buddhism spread northwards, it carried Nāga beliefs and Nāga art with it, and hence their predominance in China and Mongolia. There is some reason to suppose (if we may hazard a conjecture on a subject which has been little explored) that the Ophitism of the Christian fathers, which could never have been a large or important belief, was a distorted form of Bactrian Buddhism, brought perhaps by a few isolated traders into the western cities, and not, as ordinarily represented, a corruption of Christian tradition, based on a deliberate preference of the power of evil in his serpent guise.

Our sketch of the influence of the serpent upon religion is imperfect, and may be in many details erroneous; but we think that we have said enough to dispose of the argument of a grand primæval serpent-religion, "the most ancient religion of mankind," and to show that the worship of the serpent as a fetish, which rose naturally enough in tropical climates, never developed into an independent religion, but either disappeared like other primitive practices, or took shelter in the bosom of one or other of the grand religious movements of the world, especially the Buddhistic reformation.

ART. VI.—TOPOGRAPHY OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE IN THE
SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

PART I.

*De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera. Joannes de
Laët. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriana.
Anno 1631.*

CAP. I.—*Indiæ sive Imperii Magni Mogolis Topo-
graphica Descriptio.*

JOANNES de Laët was one of the earliest Directors of the Dutch East India Company. He was the intimate friend of Heinsius, the well-known *savant*, who was at that time Professor of Politics and Librarian in the University of Leyden, and Historiographer to Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. De Laët was in his time favourably known as a voluminous and accurate writer on geographical and historical subjects; but his works, probably on account of their rarity, appear to be known to very few of the more modern authors. They were written in Latin, and published at Leyden by the Elzevirs, whose celebrated press was then in the zenith of its fame. The volume under notice is indeed a beautiful specimen of the typographer's art; and it is believed that its historical value will be found equal to its external beauty. It belongs to a series of little volumes, each one of which gives a general description of one country. Of these, the *Persia Descriptio* is spoken highly of; a copy of which scarce work is to be found in the Library of the India Office. But it can hardly be doubted, both on account of the author's personal connexion with and interest in this country, and on account of the peculiar facilities for its description which he possessed from various circumstances (especially from his friendship with the Dutch Factor at Surat), that the *India Vera* was regarded, both by De Laët and by the public, as his most important and valuable work. The fact that it does not appear to have been consulted by any of the modern writers on Indian subjects is to be explained by the difficulty of procuring a copy of the book. The most careful enquiry in England and India has failed to discover a second copy, either in the market or in a library; and consequently the writer of this paper believes that he is justified in assuming that the copy used by him is at present practically unique.

De Laët solemnly declares in his preface that he has written nothing but what he has carefully and conscientiously verified. He says:—"I have been most scrupulous (*mihi religio fuit*) to follow none but those who, in my judgment, have narrated in the utmost

good faith events of which they have been actually eye-witnesses, or of which they have been informed by persons thoroughly worthy of credit." He adds, after mentioning the writings of Texeira, Purchas, Therry, and Sir Thomas Roe—"My chief authorities have been English and Dutch (*Belgas*) friends of my own, who in past years have traversed the interior of the country, and have told me of what they have seen and heard." He appears to have been well acquainted with the *Ain-i-Akbari*; and much of the statistical information (contained in later chapters of the work) is evidently derived from that source.

By far the most important of his authorities, and the one which gives an especial value and authenticity to his work, is Peter Van Den Broeck, the first President of the Dutch Factory at Surat. A brief account of this enterprising man is given by Anderson in his *English in Western India*; and a diary written by him in Surat in 1620 and the following years has been published in a French form.* He obtained an interview with the Governor of Surat in August 1616, and was permitted to dispose of his goods; but when he asked permission to establish a factory like the English, he was told that reference must be made to the Mogul Emperor. His failure at this time is attributed by him to the success of English intrigue. However, when he went away, he promised that he would return, and left behind him three factors with a chief factor. He came back in 1620, and declared himself Director of the Dutch trade in the East. He is described in the *Recueil des Voyages* as "a gentleman of good breeding and very courteous." The chronicle of the history of the Mogul Empire during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir and Shah Jehan, which forms a portion of De Laët's work, is from the pen of Van Den Broeck; possessing all the authority of a strictly contemporaneous record,† and written by a resident in the country, it appears to have more claims to the respectful consideration of historians than can be advanced for any other European account of the period. A similar authority, from the intimate acquaintance with the country presumably possessed by a high official long resident in Surat, attaches to the topographical account with which we are at present more immediately concerned, and which was probably mainly supplied, or at all events revised, by Van Den Broeck.

We propose to confine ourselves in this place to the first chapter of the *India Vera*, which is headed "A topographical description of India or the Empire of the Great Mogul." There are nine other chapters, with a "conclusion," which is called *judicium*

* Voyage de Pierre Van Den 1631; and the chronicle is brought down to the year 1628, in Shah
Broeck, *Recueil des Voyages*. Tome vii.

† De Laët's work was printed in Jahan's reign.

de Imperio Mogolis. It will, however, be interesting to notice here the titles of these chapters, of which by far the most important is the tenth and last :—*A fragment of Indian history which we have obtained from our countrymen, and translated into Latin from the Dutch.* The other chapters are thus described :—

II. A description of the climate and soil.

III. Of the disposition, manners, institutions, and superstitions of the inhabitants.

IV. Of the political and civil administration.

V. Of the Royal Palace and the Fort of Agra.

VI. Of the money, weights, and method of counting.

VII. Of the riches of this Prince.

VIII. Of the Military Forces of this Prince.

IX. Of the Kings of India ; the series of Kings of the Indians, according to D. Garcia ; the genealogy and series of the Kings of India of the line of Teymur Lane, from the Persian authorities of Peter Texeira ; with the accounts given by the Indians themselves.

De Laët informs us in the preface that he had originally intended to compare the results of his researches with the writings of all former authors from the time of Alexander downwards ; but that he had been deterred by the magnitude of the task. He apologises for the want of uniformity in the spelling of proper names ; and attributes it to the fact that the names are pronounced differently by the Portuguese on the one hand, and by the English and Dutch on the other. He little thought that the same defect in the system of Indian nomenclature would still exist in the year of Grace 1870.

It has not been thought necessary to give an exactly literal translation of the *Topography*, as the Latin in which it is written is of that somewhat florid style which characterizes most of the Latin works of the early part of the seventeenth century ; but the following may be depended on, as giving a faithful rendering of the meaning of our author, in terms as concise as may be compatible with clearness :—

India is called Indostan by the Arabs and Persians. On the west it is bounded by the river Indus, on the bank of which is the kingdom of *Sind*, whose inhabitants are called Abind ; or otherwise it may be considered to extend from the boundaries of the kingdom of *Macron*, which is called by others Getche-Maquerona,*

* Rennell says "On the west [of Sindy], is Makran, a province of Persia, whose Prince is tributary to the king of Candahar." He adds in a note "Makran or Mocran is the ancient Gedrosia. One of its modern names is Ketch or Kedge, and is often prefixed to the other, as Ketch-

whose inhabitants are Boloches or Baluches. *Meleck Myrza* was reigning here in 1613; he had formerly acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Persia, but had declared his independence at the time mentioned. This is the province which the ancients call Carmania,[†] whose port is *Guader*,[‡] in 25° north latitude. Sind is called the kingdom of Diul by the Arabs and Persians. The river which is called Indus by the ancients is called by the Persians and the Moguls *Pang-ab*, that is, Five Waters, because it carries down the waters of five rivers to the ocean. One of these, according to Texeira, is the Behat,[§] which rises near *Kabul*; the second is the Chenab, which descends from Quexmir or Cassimer, a province which is distant 15 days' journey from Lahore towards the north; the third is the Rauvy or Ravee, which flows by Lahore, and is said to rise far above that city. The other two rivers come from more remote regions; they are the Via,^{||} and the Soud or Sind. The last gives its name to the others.

All these rivers are united by the time they reach Bakar, halfway between Lahore and the Indian Ocean. I find it, however, noticed by my Belgian friends that the Ravee, Behat and Sind

Makran. If Ketch was in use anciently, it is likely to have given birth to the name Gedrosia." Mekran, the south-western province of Beluchistan, was at the time of Masson's travels in 1831-5, subject partly to the Jám of Las Bela, partly to his feudal superior the Khau of Kalát, and partly to the Arab chief of Maskát.

Kedge or Getche is an inland town on the Bhugwar. It was visited by Fryer in 1677, who says of it:—"Getche, in the Turkish language signifying a goat-village, which was on wheels; it is in a sandy valley full of shrubs, on which the camels feed." It is marked in Fryer's map in a direction north-east from Ormus. Masson says of it: "Kej is the most western province of the Kalát territory. It is distant from the capital twenty-one camel marches, and about seven or eight marches from Gwádar on the coast. There is reason to believe that it was formerly a place of much importance, on which account the fullest information regarding it would be desirable. It is our misfortune to know less about it than any other of the Kalát

Khan's provinces. From Kej there is a commercial intercourse with the ports of Gwádar and Charbár on the coast, and a Káfila occasionally passes between it and Kalát."

[†] This appears to be a mistake. Kohistan, which is the eastern portion of Kirman or Carmania, lies to the north-west of Gedrosia or Mekran.

[‡] See the note on Mocran, p. 338. A letter from the "Lord Ambassador of Persia," dated from Guadea or Guader on the 18th September 1613, to the East India Company, urged the establishment of a factory there, "which, though not in Persia, is under the Government of a tributary that it promises the richest traffic in the world, and is free from the Portugals." Guader is said by Mr. Wheeler, in a note to his reprint of Purchas, to be a telegraph station.

[§] De Laët has here confounded the Behat or Jhelum with the Kabul river; but he corrects his mistake subsequently in his account of Kashmir.

^{||} The Beas or Beyah (anciently called Beypasha, the Hyphasis of Alexander) here apparently includes the Sutlej, its confluent.

rise in the mountains of Cashmere, and have their confluence near Multan; but Multan is distant from Lahore a hundred and forty *cos*s, whereof two make a Belgian mile.

The Mogul Empire is divided into thirty-seven large provinces, whereof almost all were formerly themselves kingdoms. Their names, towns, and rivers here follow, commencing from the western limit:—

1. Kandahar, with a capital of the same name. This province lies to the north-west, and is adjacent to Persia of which it was formerly a part; indeed it has recently been again taken from the Mogul by Xa-Abas king, of Persia.

2. Kabul, so called from its principal town, the last province of this empire towards the north-west or north, is adjacent to Tartary. Here the river Nilab* rises, which flows southward to join the Indus. I am doubtful whether this is the same as the Behat, mentioned by Texeira as rising near Kabul; at all events, it must be either the Coa or the Suastus mentioned by Ptolemy.

3. Multan, from a metropolis of the same name; having on the west Persia or Kandahar, on the south Buckar, and contiguous to the banks of the Indus.

4. Hajycan † or Haagickan; it is bounded on the east by the Indus, on the west by Lar, a province of Persia. It has no town of any name; it is said to be a kingdom of the Bolochee, of which nation we shall speak elsewhere.

5. Buckor or Buckar, whose metropolis is called Buckor Suckor, situated on the banks of the Indus, by which the province is

* Rennell says of this river, "Ferish-ta calls the river on which Attock is built, Nilab, *Anglice* the Blue River. There is so much confusion in Indian histories, respecting the names of the branches of the Indus, that I cannot refer the name Nilab to any particular river, unless it be another name for the Indus or Sind."—Mandelslo, who travelled in these parts in 1638-40, agrees with our author in assigning the name Nilab (which he also calls the Begau) to the Kabul river. De Laët again identifies these rivers below, in his account of the province of Attock.

† Maurice, in his *Indian Antiquities*, says he follows Rennell in calling Hajycan "a circar or division of Sindy, and considers it identical with the ancient Orycanus." Rennell elsewhere says:—"Finding Hajycan mentioned

as one of the districts belonging to Sindy in the Ayin Acbaree, and it being very clear that a large province of the same name lies on the west of the Indus opposite to Multan, I can not otherwise reconcile these two accounts, than by supposing that Hajycan extends southward, along the Indus, until it meets the borders of Sindy; and that a small part of it was subject to Sindy. In this case the province of Behker must be confined chiefly to the east side of the Indus. No part of Hajycan is reckoned to belong either to Multan or Candahar in the Ayin Acbaree."

Masson states that Ashi Khan is a district of Eastern Balochistan, forming a part of the province of Saharawan, and inhabited by the Rodani tribe. This may probably be the remains of the old province of Hajycan.

divided and wonderfully fertilised ; it lies with regard to Tatta north a little by east ; on the west it has the Baloches, a wild and war-like nation.

6. Tatta, from its principal city so called, through which the Indus, in passing, forms very many pleasant and fertile islands. The river flows again in one channel at the town of Sindo, celebrated for the number of its skilled workmen of various kinds.

7. Soret,* whose metropolis is called Janagar, a small but rich province ; having as its boundary on the east or south-east Guzerat, on the south the ocean.

8. Jeselmeere (which is also the name of the metropolis) is contiguous to Soret, Buckor, and Tatta, which lie to the west of it.

9. Attock, from its metropolis so called, on the banks of the Nilab. This river comes down from the north-west, and joins the Indus, which divides this province from Hajacan.

10. Paug-ab, whose capital is Lahore, is a most extensive province. It is also very fertile, inasmuch as it is watered by those five rivers of which we have spoken above ; whence also it gets its name.

11. Cassimere, Chismeer, or Quexmir, whose metropolis is called Siranakar. The river Behat or Phat flows through this province, and with many windings around numerous islands finds its way to the Indus ; or into the Ganges, as has been observed by some, though this I think less likely. It is a mountainous province, contiguous to Kabul, and somewhat cold (it is said to lie 41° to the north of the equator); though when compared with Thibet, which is adjacent to it on the east, it may be called temperate. Eight leagues from the chief city there is a fine lake,† five leagues in extent. In the centre of this lake is an island on which there is a royal palace, fitted up for fowling purposes, as there are great numbers of water-fowl on the lakes. By the side of the river,‡ which flows through the lake in a westerly direction, are seen trees§ of immense size, whose boughs resemble those of the chestnut, but the timber is different. When cut into planks, the grain appears in the form of waves ; it is well adapted for the manufacture of bows.

12. Bankish, whose capital is called Beishar or Bishur, a province lying to the south-east of Cashmere.

13. Jengapor or Jenupar, so called from its capital, situated on the banks of the Kaul river, under Lahore and between that city and Agra.

*This province is evidently the district of Sorath in Kattywar, with its capital Joonaghur ; but it is here probably intended to include the whole of Kattywar. It was originally

called Surashtra.

† Lake Wulur.

‡ The Jhelum, or Behat.

§ Probably the Decdar, or Himalayan Cedar.

14. Jenba or Jamba* (whose chief city bears the same name) lies to the east of the Pang-ab, and is a mountainous province.

15. Dely, with a capital of the same name, lies between Jenba and Agra; in it rises the river Jemini, or Semena as others call it, which flows down by Agra and joins the Ganges. Delhi is an ancient city, and formerly the residence of the early kings of India, many of whose monuments may be seen there at the present day.

16. Bando,† with its metropolis of the same name, stretches from Agra towards the west.

17. Malway or Malua, a most fertile province, whose metropolis is Rantipore;‡ others call its chief town Ugen,§ which Thomas Roe, an English Knight, calls the capital of Malwa. At a distance of one mile from this city is the river Cepra, on the banks of which is Calleada, formerly the palace of the kings of Mandoa.|| This river is said to flow into the Gulf of Cambay.

18. Chitore (with a capital of the same name) is an extensive and very ancient kingdom. Its metropolis, whose walls are about ten English miles in circuit, is very much decayed; insomuch that only the ruins of more than a hundred most magnificent temples and other buildings of almost boundless extent are now remaining. Achabar¶ the king of the Moguls, took this city from the descendants of the Ranna; the Prince, however, fled from him into the fastnesses of the mountains, and settled in the town of Odipore, and at length in the year 1614 was compelled to acknowledge

* This may possibly refer to Chamba, a district to the south of Kashmir. The city is stated to have much decayed; in Forster's time it was the "most important mart in this part of the country." The geographical position here given, however, appears to coincide rather with Sirhind. It is difficult to identify exactly either this province or the two that precede it; the three together seem to occupy all the eastern districts of the Punjab and the adjacent country.

† The name of this province identifies it with Banda, or perhaps with the whole of Bundelcund. The phrase used of its geographical position (*ab Agra versus occasum pertinet*) seems to place it to the west of Agra; but it probably means that the province of Agra formed its western boundary. Rennell, quoting the *Ain-i-Akbari*, says that Bundhoo lies to the south of Allahabad.

‡ Rantampore is mentioned by Rennell as a fortress in the north of Malwa. It is usually called Rintumbor; and was used by Akber as a state prison.

§ Ujein is on the banks of the Seeptra, in the territory of Sindia. Our author is mistaken as to the course of the Seeptra, which is a confluent of the Chumbul.

|| Mandoa or Mandu is a huge deserted city now belonging to the small state of Dhar in Malwa. The circuit of its ramparts is, according to Malcolm, thirty-seven miles. It is mentioned by Ferishta as the capital of some of the Musalman kings of Malwa. It is marked in Maffei's map of the world, in his "*Historiæ Indicæ*" published in 1593.

¶ The celebrated sack of Chitore by Akber occurred in 1568, when upwards of 30,000 Rajputs and an immense number of females of all ranks perished in the assault, or in

the supremacy of the Mogul. This kingdom is situated to the north-west of the province of Chandess* and north of Guzeratta.

19. Guzeratta is a most beautiful kingdom and very rich. It is at present (says Texeira) called Cambaja by the Portuguese from its emporium which that nation frequents; though its metropolis is inland, and is called Hamed-Evvat†, i.e., the city of king Hamed who founded it; it is corruptly called Amadavar and Amadabat. This very rich kingdom is watered by various rivers, as the Nardabah‡ which flows by Baroah§, the Tapte, and others; and possesses a great bend of the sea, into which the geographers of a former age wrongly thought the Indus flowed.

20. Candish, whose metropolis is called Bramport||, or Burhampur, formerly a residence of the kings of the Deckan, and taken from them by the Mogul Emperor. It is a large and populous kingdom, intersected by the river Tabet or Tapte which flows into the Gulf of Cambay. Contiguous to this province are the dominions of Pertaspha¶, a prince of middling rank and a tribu-

the conflagration that followed. This was in the reign of Oody Sing, Rana of Mewar. Tod states that he retired to the valley of the Girwo in the Aravalli mountains, and there founded the city of Oodypore, which has ever since taken the place of Chitore as capital of Mewar. Rana Oody Sing was succeeded by his son Rana Pertab; and it was the son of the latter, Rana Umra, who was compelled to submit to Jahangir. The date of this submission, stated above to be 1614, is given by Elphinstone as 1613—only 17 or 18 years before the publication of our text. With regard to the founding of Oodypore, the expression used by De Laet (*consecit in oppido Odipore*) appears to imply that the city was already in existence before the flight of Rana Oody Sing in 1568.

* Chandess is doubtless Khandesh, the province that follows Guzerat in the present list.

† Ahmedabad is mentioned in the journal of the fourth voyage of the East India Company (written by John Joudain), under the name of Amadavar. See Sainsbury, *Calendar of Colonial State Papers, East Indies*, p. 170; March 1608. Before 1613 an English factory was established here; and in that year, the chief factor (named Aldworth) described it to the Company as "Amadavas, the

only chief city of the Guzerats, well near as big as London, and where the Portugals buy their commodities, take them to Cambay, a far lesser city, and lade them at Goa." Cambay is described by Rennell as the port of Ahmedabad.

‡ Evidently the Nerbuddah.

§ Baroach or Broach is about 30 miles from the sea. It is still a port of some importance. A factory was established here by the Company in November 1613; in 1615 the factor writes to the Directors that "Baroach is the chief city in India for bastas and cotton yarn."

|| Borhaunpore or Burhanpur is on the Upper Tapte. It was founded by Malik Nasir, king of Khandesh, about 1414; and was a place of the first importance during the 16th and 17th centuries. Banggam was the factor of the Company here in 1616. In the same year Sir Thomas Roe obtained a firman from Mahomet Khan, the Governor of Burhanpore, for free trade at Baroach, without customs or other dues.

¶ This is doubtless a misprint for Pertap Sha or Pertab Shah; and probably refers to the Rajput state of Purtabghur, which was at this time ruled by a younger branch of the reigning family of Oodypore. The title *Shah* was doubtless conferred by the Mogul Emperor.

tary of the Great Mogol; of whose dominions this is the most southern portion.

21. Berar, whose capital is Shapore* or Shahpur, is also one of the southern provinces of the empire, and is adjacent to Guzurat and the mountain districts of Ranna.†

22. Narwar,‡ whose metropolis is Gehud,§ is watered by a most beautiful river,|| which flows into the Ganges.

23. Gwalior or Gualoor, with a capital of the same name. It possesses a most strongly fortified citadel, in which noble captives are imprisoned, and much royal treasure with a vast store of gold and silver, coined and uncoined.

24. Agra, so called from its capital which is not a very ancient city. By others it seems to be called Purrop¶ and Purbeth. It is a very great province, and situated in the very centre of the kingdom. Between Agra and Lahore, which two cities are now by far the chief of the empire, there is a distance of 400 miles. The whole intervening region is a perfectly level plain, and the royal road is shaded on both sides by trees, like a pleasant garden-walk.

25. Sanbal or Sambel (the capital bears the same name) is divided from the province of Narwar by the river Jumna, which joins the Ganges under the town of Halebasse.** From the confluence of these rivers this province stretches toward the north-west; it seems to be called by some the Doab, *i. e.*, Interamnica, or the country between the rivers.

26. Bakar, whose capital is named Bikaneer†† is situated on the west bank of the Ganges.

27. Nagiakut‡‡ or Nakarkut is a mountainous province, and forms the extremity of the empire towards the north-east. Its

* Shapore may possibly mean Saugor; otherwise it does not appear to be easily identified.

† Rhanna is mentioned by Rennell as one of the provinces given by Ptolemy. It may here mean the dominions of the Rauna (of Oodypore).

‡ Narwar or Nerwar, a portion of the territories of Sindia, lying between the rivers Sindh and Chumbul. Narwar is south of Gwalior. See note, p. 362.

§ Gohud is some miles to the north of Gwalior, and appears therefore to be incorrectly described as the capital of Narwar. The province of Gohud, which at that time possessed Gwalior as its chief fortress, was conquered by Sindia shortly after the

Mahratta peace in 1783. Its revenues were then estimated by Rennell at about 20 or 30 lakhs.

|| This river is probably the Sindh. ¶ Purrop is described later as the province of Allahabad or Prayag

** A very common early form of the name Allahabad. Sambal was the province assigned to Sultan Mirza, who accompanied Baber to India. The revolt of the Mirzas, sons of this nobleman, led to the final conquest of Guzarat by Akbar.

†† This Rajput state is evidently placed by De Laët too far to the east.

‡‡ This province must have consisted of some of the sub-Himalayan valleys in the neighbourhood of the Kangra Valley in the north-east of

metropolis is known by the same name, in which a most sumptuous chapel may be seen, whose flooring is made of golden planks. Here an idol is worshipped which is called Matta; and for this purpose many thousands of Indians yearly assemble here, and cut off small portions of their tongues to offer to the idol. In the same province is Callaniaka,* to which great numbers of pilgrims resort. Here, out of very cold fountains and hard rocks, flames are daily seen to issue, before which the barbarous and superstitious vulgar prostrate themselves in worship.

28. Siba,† whose metropolis is Hardwar. Here the Ganges is said to spring from a rock, which the superstitious common people imagine to have the form of the head of a cow (these nations venerate this animal above all others); and on this account they bathe daily in the waters of this river. It is a mountainous province, lying to the south of Narkut.

29. Kakares,‡ whose chief towns are Dankaler and Purhola, a very broad and mountainous region, divided from Tartary by the ridges of the Caucasus. This is the most northerly region of the empire, lying to the north of Cassimere.

the Panjab and south of Kashmir. Maurice says in his description of the province of Lahore, "Nagracaut is a city situated upon a mountain, with a fort called Kangerah. In its neighbourhood is a most ancient and celebrated place of Hindu devotion and pilgrimage, where the blind enthusiast cuts out his tongue as a sacrifice to the idol." There is another celebrated shrine of this name in the north of Nipal, of which Rennell says:—"Between Catmandu and these mountains [a Tibetan chain] Giorgi passed by a famous place of worship, called by him Noglicot, but by the Bengalese Nogarcot, and which gives name to a pass that leads to it through the Bootan mountains on the north of Purneah."

* The name appears to indicate Kali-Math, a celebrated shrine of the goddess Kali, situated in the north of Kumaon. The Kalipani in the same district is a very sacred spring.

† The position of this province is sufficiently marked by that of its chief town, Hurdwar.

‡ Kakares properly refers only to

the mountainous districts to the north-west of Kashmir, inhabited by the Gickers, Gohkers or Kakares—See Rennell, p. 86. This province is mentioned by Mandelslooe as one of the Mogul dependencies, under the name of Kakires, with the chief towns Dankaler and Binsola. It evidently refers to Thibet; and yet in Rennell's time and long before, Thibet was tributary to China. Dankaler and Purhola are doubtless Lassa and Putala; the latter being the residence of the Grand Lama, and distant from Lassa about seven miles. The identity of the names may be seen from the following extract from Rennell:—"Much confusion arises from the application of so many names to this capital of Thibet. Giorgi tells us that the proper name of it in the language of Thibet is Baronthala; but that the Tartars call it Lassa or Lihassa. Other accounts call it Tonker; and apply the names Lassa and Baronthala to the district which contains Tonker and Putala. And, again, others give the name of Putala, instead of Lassa, to the capital of Thibet,

30. Gor,* so called from its capital, is also a mountainous province, in which rises the Perselis, which flows into the Ganges.

31. Pitan† or Peitan, having a metropolis of the same name; the river Kanda waters it, falling into the Ganges within its limits; it is a mountainous province, stretching from Janba to the eastward.

32. Kanduana‡ whose metropolis is Kerahktenck, is separated from Peitan by the river Perseli. This province and Gor are the limits of the empire towards the north.

33. Patna, so called from its metropolis, is a most fertile province, situated between four rivers of which the Ganges bounds it on the west, the Perseli§ on the east; the other two are the Jemini and the Kandah.

34. Jesual|| whose metropolis is Raiapore or Ragapor, lies to the east of Patna, and north-west of Bēngala.

35. Mewat,¶ whose capital is called Narnol, a rough mountainous region, having the Ganges as its eastern limit.

36. Udessa** or Udeza, whose metropolis is Jōkanat or Jekanat, the furthest province of this empire to the eastward, is adja-

* This is perhaps Gorkha, a division of Nepal, which is mentioned by Rennell as an independent state in his time. The Perselis is probably the Koosy river. See the note below on Kanduana and Patna.

† This is evidently a province of Nepal; there is still a town named Peytan or Paithana, on the upper course of the Rapti, a tributary of the Ghoghra. The river Kanda is doubtless one of the upper waters of the Gunduck; the name is spelt by Mandelsloe *Candack*. As Pitan is described as contiguous to Janba, we may identify it with Western Nepal, which would include the town of Peytan mentioned above.

‡ The capital of this province is called by Mandelsloe, Kharack or Katenc. The latter name identifies it with Khatang, a town in Eastern Nepal, on or near the upper course of the Koosy (called in the text the Perselis or Persely), which flows into the Ganges west of Purneah.

§ The position of the Perseli given here as the eastern boundary of Patna, appears to confirm its identification with the Koosy given above; the Kandah or Gunduck being the

boundary of the province on the north-west. Mandelsloe calls this district Porena, and has apparently confounded it with Purneah.

|| This province is called Jewal by Mandelsloe; its metropolis and its geographical position identifies it with Rungpore, which was incorporated with the kingdom of Bengal by Husain Shah about the end of the fourteenth century. Patna appears, at the time described in the text, to have included Purneah.

¶ Mewat is the hilly and woody tract lying to the south-west (about 25 or 30 miles) of Delhi. The inhabitants have been notorious at all times for their predatory and warlike disposition. The raj of Ulwar is an important part of Mewat. Narnol was the last stronghold of the celebrated adventurer George Thomas.

** This province may doubtless be identified with Orissa (the Ullas are sometimes called Udras) with its capital Jagannath or Pooree. As it is described as the most easterly portion of the empire, De Laet erroneously supposes that it is adjacent to the Mug kingdom of Arakan.

cent to the Maug kingdom, whose inhabitants are most ferocious barbarians.

37. Bengala is a most extensive and fertile kingdom, which is bounded on the south by the Bay of Bengal, into which the Ganges discharges its waters by four immense channels. The principal cities of the country are Ragmehell and Dekaka or Daack.* It is bounded by Coromandel towards the south. It has many ports both large and small, which are frequented by the Portuguese, as Philipatan, Satighan,† &c. It contains many provinces, amongst which the chief are Purop and Patan or Potan, whence some very powerful kings formerly took their name.

A writer who professes to have taken the names of the Mogul provinces out of the royal books, enumerates them as above, and assigns to them nearly the same names, except that he omits Jeselmeere. To fill up the number of 37 provinces, he adds the province Roch, on the borders of Bengala, having no town of any importance.

Petrus Texeira, in his account of the kingdom of Persia, enumerates some of the provinces of India, but not nearly as many as those we have named. He mentions a province called Utrad with a capital of the same name, but does not indicate its position. He says also that there is a kingdom of Cache,§ which produces the finest horses, thence called Cachis. He appears to place this province to the north of Cambay; perhaps it is the one we have above called Chandis.

The length of this empire from north-west to south-east is at the least a thousand coss, whereof each one is equal to two or two and a half English miles; two coss are computed by our countrymen to be equal to one Dutch mile. From north to south it is

* Rajmahal or Akbarabad; and Dacca.

† Philipatan is doubtless Pettapoli or Pipley, near Balasore. This was a port of the first importance at the time of the opening of the Portuguese and Dutch trade in Bengal at the end of the 16th century. Some interesting accounts of the history of this port whilst it was in Dutch hands, were contained in the Dutch records of Chinsurah; but these records were surrendered in 1853 to the Dutch Government, and are now deposited in the Dutch Record Office at the Hague. Pipley is thus described by Milburn (*Oriental Commerce*. London, 1813):—"Pipley is about six leagues east by north from the

entrance of the Balasore river. It is situated on the banks of a river, and is known by a Pagoda to the westward and a thicket of trees very near it. Pipley was once the mart of this country; but the waters washing away a great part of the town, at the same time that a dangerous bar was formed at the mouth of the river, the merchants removed to Balasore."—Satighan is obviously Satgong, near Hoogly, formerly the most important port in that river. It has been conjectured to be Chittagong; but its identity with Satgong is fully proved in a later chapter of the present work.

‡ This is evidently a misprint for Koch, i.e., Cooch Behar.

§ Cutch.

about one thousand four hundred English miles; for the most southerly portion is 20° from the equator, the most northerly 43° . The fathers of the Society (of Jesus?) say that this empire runs from the Cambay shore towards the north to a distance of four hundred leagues; and from east to west, from Bengala to the Sind or Indus, six hundred leagues.

So far for a general description of the empire. We now proceed to give a particular account of the provinces, commencing with those on the sea-board.

GUZURATTE, or, as it is now called among the Portuguese, **Cambaja**, is a maritime province of India; a part of which juts forth into the Indian Ocean like a promontory, having on each side a great gulf. Of these gulfs, the one on the south is eighteen miles in breadth at its entrance, and gradually becomes narrower. Its length is about forty miles, and its direction is to the north-east. The boundaries of this province are, on the west the Indian Ocean; on the north a fine bay, and on the other side the provinces of Soret, Jeselmecre, and Bando; on the east Chitor* and Chandis; on the south the kingdom of Deccan. Formerly this kingdom was much more extensive, stretching from the Indian Ocean to Gualer, eight days' journey from Amadabad; and to the south as far as Daman.

Its ports on the sea or on one of these gulfs are:—Suratte, Broachia, Cambaja, Mangorol, Patan, Diu, Kerimar, Nagsaru, Meuhowa, Dongessa, Dlasghan, Mangerolpore, Onnapar, and Goga.

The revenues of this province are said by our countrymen to amount yearly to a hundred and fifty tons of gold. The emporium, which is at present most frequented by the English and the Dutch is Suratte, which is distant from the equator $21^{\circ} 40'$ north. It is placed on the banks of the Tapti (which others call the Tynde), which rises in the mountains of Deccan, flows down by Barrampore about 220 miles, and empties itself into the Indian Ocean about 20 miles below the town. It is navigable for vessels of moderate size as far as the town. This town is of moderate size, containing very many beautiful houses belonging to the merchants. Close to it is the citadel, of considerable extent, surrounded with a wall of quarried stone, and furnished with many engines of war, some of which are of extraordinary size. It has a single gate, which opens on a pleasant plain, which they call Medou.* The city is open on the side of the citadel, but on every other side it is surrounded by a dry ditch and an earthwork. It has three gates; whereof one leads to Variaw, where the river is crossed by those who are going to Cambaja; another goes to Bram-

* The Maidan.

pore ; a third to Nonsaray or Nassaray, which town is distant from Suratte ten coss, or (as our people say) six Dutch miles ; here many cotton fabrics are manufactured. From Nonsaray to Gondoree are ten coss ; and a little further is Belsaca, on the borders of Damaun. A short distance from the citadel at Suratte is the custom-house* where the duties are paid ; close to which is a market. Hard by the town is a tank† cut out of the living rock, having more than a hundred angles ; each side of which is twenty-eight ells in length, with its steps also made of stone—a work truly admirable, whether one looks at its size or the elegance of the structure. In the river, about three miles from its mouth, is an island, which in the rainy season is quite covered by the water ; on the north side of it is a station,‡ where ships of large tonnage load and unload, in latitude 21° 10' north. From this place to Suratte the river is navigable for ships of 50 tons burden. The citadel of which we spoke above, is on the right as you ascend the river ; on the left bank, a little below the city is a pleasant town called Raneli,§ whose inhabitants are called Naïtes. Their dialect is different from that of the rest of the people ; they are mostly sailors ; the streets are narrow ; the houses are high, and you enter them by certain steps.

Balsara or Belsaca is distant from Suratte to the south about fourteen Dutch miles.

Cambaja, the mart which is most frequented by the Portuguese, is situated on the inner part of the southern gulf, eighteen or 20 Dutch miles north of Brochia or Barochie. The road between the two places is dangerous and infested by robbers ; for the

* This custom-house at Surat is called, in the contemporary records, the Alfandija. There is a curious notice in a document preserved in the India Office and dated April 1616 of "the abuses done to the English at Surat by the Governor Zulphock Chan and the Judge of the custom-house."

† This tank is thus described by Fryer in 1680:—"The only thing of grandeur extant of the devotion of the ancient heathens is a great tank without the walls of Surat, a mile in circumference, walled all about with descending stone-steps ; in the middle an high place of the heathen. Many sumptuous mausoleums are erected near its brink, with aqueducts to convey water ; with which were it filled, the best ship that swims

in the sea might ride in it. It looks now more like a circus or gymnasium, able enough to contain as many as such spectacles would delight. In their great solemnities it is usual for them to set it around with lamps to the number of two or three leagues which is so many hundred thousand in our account."

‡ This must refer to Swally, which was on the northern bank of the river near its mouth.

§ Fryer says of this:—"No Neal, a mile beyond it (Surat) on Swally side, was once before it, but now abandoned to sailors and washermen. The customers then paid half to the Portugals, who once a year came with their provoes and received their levies."

inhabitants of that part are most treacherous, and extort money from travellers even in opposition to the commands of the Emperor. Cambaja is distant from Amadabat 38 coss according to English authorities, by a sandy road through jungles and infested by robbers. It is distant from sea about a mile and a half or two miles, on a certain creek which becomes gradually narrower as the city lies along its bank for four or five miles. On the opposite bank is the village of Sarede; the intervening creek can be forded when the tide has gone out, but not without much care and the help of an efficient guide; equally dangerous is the crossing in boats when the water has come up, on account of the violence of the tide, which is said to rise here to the height of seven fathoms. The city is twice as large as Suratte, and is surrounded by a triple wall of brick. It has lofty and magnificent houses; streets quite straight and paved with flints, and nearly every street is closed at night by a gate. In the midst are three most spacious markets. The inhabitants are chiefly Banians. There are so many monkeys here that they do much damage, and often injure foot-passengers in the streets by flinging at them the tiles from the roofs of houses. The port is so much frequented, that frequently two hundred galleys are seen here at one time.

The metropolis of this province is Hamed-Ewat, vulgarly called Amadabat or Amadavar, a city nearly equal to London in point of size, being six of our (Dutch) miles in circuit. It is in latitude 23° and some minutes north, and eighteen Dutch miles from Cambay. It is built on a plain, on the bank of a small river, and is surrounded by a strong wall with many gates and towers. It has a citadel large and strongly fortified. The splendour of the buildings in the town is equal to anything in Africa or Asia; the streets are broad and paved with flints. The city flourishes chiefly by its commerce; for almost every ten days, two hundred carriages go to Cambaja from this place, laden with merchandise of all kinds. The inhabitants are for the most part merchants, rich banians, or industrious artificers; consequently it would be impossible to collect here a larger force than 6,000 cavalry. The gates are ceaselessly guarded, nor is any one allowed to go in or out without the permission of the prefect. This caution is taken on account of a neighbouring prince, named Badur,* who holds a position about 50 coss from this to the east, so strongly fortified by nature and art that the Great Mogul himself was unable to eject him. This prince at a former period, with a force of 100,000

* This is doubtless Bâz Bahâdur, in 1561; but reinstated by the clemency of the Mogul.
a formidable chief in Malwa, who was conquered by one of Akbar's generals

cavalry, whom he had enticed by the hope of freedom and spoil, surprised Cambaja and sadly plundered it.

Between Amadavar and Trapeu, a certain Rahia (Raja) lives in a mountainous district. He can bring into the field 17,000 horse and foot. His subjects are called Colles* or Quillees, and inhabit the deserts, wherein they are able to preserve their independence from the Mogul. On the right there is also another Raja, with a force of 10,000 cavalry, who holds an impregnable fortress in the midst of a desert; he is a vassal of Gydney Caun,† but often refuses to pay him his tribute. In the land around this city (Ahmadabad) a sort of indigo is produced, which is called Cickel, not to be compared in point of quality with Bianensian indigo. The government of this city and territory is in the hands of a governor,‡ a judge called a Cahi, and a Cutwal.§

Not far from this city rise the mountains of Marwa,|| which occupy a vast extent of country, extending 50 coss along the road to Agra, and 200 coss in the direction of Ougen, being for the most part inaccessible in this region. On a peak of these mountains lies the impregnable fortress of Gur-chitto.¶ This is a stronghold of the Ranna, a most powerful Rajah, whom neither the Patan kings formerly, nor the Moguls up to the present time, have been able to reduce to subjection. The Indians who are Gentiles (Hindus), have the same veneration for this prince as the Romans have for the Pope. His territory is surrounded on all sides by inaccessible mountains; and every point at which access is possible, is fortified with the utmost care. He can bring 12,000 cavalry into the field at the shortest notice; and possesses many fine and beautiful cities.

At the distance of one league from Amadabat may be seen a very splendid monument, in which is buried a certain Cahi, the

* Elphinstone says that "the hilly and forest tract of Guzerat was held by the mountain tribes of Bhils and Culis, among whom some Rajput princes, mostly connected with Mewar, had also founded petty states." Such are the states of Dongarpur, Bhanswara, and others; which subsist at the present time. Whilst the princes are generally Rajputs, the subjects are for the most part aboriginal non-Aryan tribes.

† Jengis Khan was the chief of Guzerat with whom the Mirzas took refuge in their flight from Akbar in 1566.

‡ Prince Khurram (afterwards Shah Jahau, called in the contemporary

records of the India Office, Sultan Couronne) was Governor of Ahmedabad at the time of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy.

§ Fryers says of the Cutwal of Surat:—"The next in the executive power is the Cutwal, the Governor of the night, as the other two great officers (the Governor and the Cazi) rule the day; or, nearer our constitution, the sheriff of the city; for after the keys are carried to the Governor, it is the Cutwal's business, with a guard of near two hundred men, to scour the street of idle companions."

|| Marwar, or Joudpore.

¶ Chittore in Oodypore; called also Chittorgurh. See p. 342.

tutor of one of the kings of Guzuratte. The Cahi himself caused the mausoleum to be built; and he and three others are buried here, each in a little chapel. The whole fabric is built of the most polished and beautiful marble; and the pavement is also of marble. It consists of three courts; in one of which there are four hundred and forty columns of marble, thirty palms in height, with epistyles and pediments of Corinthian work. It is a monument worthy of a king, and should be inspected by all. On one side is a tank, wrought with wonderful skill, over which there is a most delightful prospect from many beautiful windows.

Sarques or Sirkesa is a large village, distant from Amadabat about 3 coss, or one Dutch mile and a half. Here are the tombs of the ancient kings of Guzuratte, in a very beautiful temple, to which the Indians flock in great numbers from all parts. About one coss from this place is a magnificent house with a most pleasing garden built and laid out by Chou-Chin-Nauw,* one of the chief Mogul nobles, who here defeated the last king of Guzuratte in a great battle, and brought his kingdom under subjection to the Great Mogul. In the village of Sarques a great quantity of indigo is prepared, which bears the name of the place; it is second in reputation only to the Bianensian indigo, and much of it is imported into Europe.

Subordinate to the chief city of Amadabat are twenty-five sudder towns; and subordinate to these are 2,998 villages; the villages render an account of their revenues to the towns, and the latter to the metropolis. The whole annual revenue is more than six millions of pieces of gold. The governor of the metropolis in the year 1626 [five years ago] was Chan-Syan,† a most powerful vassal of the Mogul, who had assigned to him (together with his sons, of whom he had many) the command of 15,000 horse, though he usually maintained only five or six thousand. By this means he was able to convert to his own use the whole of these immense treasures. The revenues are mainly derived from agriculture; for in the towns no duties are exacted on either imports or exports.

By far the chief city, after the metropolis, is Baroche or Brochia, in latitude 21° 55' N. It is twenty-three coss or twelve Dutch miles north of Surat, fifteen Dutch miles east of Cambaja. It is placed on the banks of a most beautiful river, which descends from the distant mountains and flows into the sea about six (or, as others say, eight) Dutch miles below the city. About four miles

* Purchas tells us, on the authority of Mildnal, who visited Serkesy in 1606, that this Palace and garden were constructed by Chon Chonnaw; which enables us to identify the very corrupt name in the text as that of

the Khan-i-Khanan, Mirza Khan, who defeated Mozafer Shah of Guzerat in 1584. See note, p. 358.

† Shah Jahan was appointed Governor of Guzerat by his father in 1617.

below the city, opposite the village of Hansot, which is on the south bank, the river divides itself into two branches; between them is an island, in some parts half a league and in others only a quarter of a league in breadth, intersected by various channels. The river falls into the sea by two mouths, the distance between them being two miles and a half. The city is built on a lofty hill and is surrounded by a wall; thus it is fortified both by nature and art. It has a suburb at the foot of the hill, which is itself as big as a city, and is inhabited by workmen and sailors. The yearly revenues are 200,000 golden mamudas (of which each one is equal to ten of our styvers). The land around the city is most fertile, and produces every kind of crop. Three other cities, which now have their own governors, were formerly subordinate to this one; Medapore, which is seventy miles inland; Brodera (which is also called Radgeepore), distant three days' journey; and Jaunbausser, eight miles. From Suratte to Brochia the road lies through the villages Periauw* and Cosumbay. Very beautiful gems are dug at a distance of four coss from Brochia; these gems are called achates.† The neighbourhood is pleasant and full of villages. It abounds with wood-palms, from which, and from another tree called Tarrii,‡ they make a certain liquor which they call Tarrien and Suren.

In a town between Brochia and Amadabat is buried a certain holy Mahometan, called Polle Medoni.§ Hither flock pilgrims from all parts of India, some hoping to obtain wealth, some children, some one thing, some another. One may see these pilgrims travelling hither, some loaded with iron chains of great weight, others with muzzles on their mouths which they only remove for the purpose of taking food. As soon, however, as they have piously worshipped at this shrine they declare that the chains are miraculously broken, and the muzzles drop off of their own accord,—a lie which is as gross as the superstition which causes it to be believed.

Janbuysar || or Jaunbausser or Giannifer is a large village, about

* Purchas tells us that Master Withington went from Surat to Baroche by way of Periano and Cosumbay.

† Cambay is now the émporium for agates, cornelians, and onyxes, which are there wrought into a great variety of ornaments. The best agates are found in peculiar strata, about thirty feet below the surface, in a small tract among the Rajpoot hills, on the banks of the Nerbudda.

‡ The *Tal-tree*, or fan-palm. *Tarri* is the *Tadi* or toddy, extracted

from this fan-palm. *Sura*, the generic term for any spirituous liquor.

§ A pious Musalman will immediately recognise in this name a corruption of *Boulee Muduni*, the name of one of the most celebrated saints of Islam. He is elsewhere called Pir Muhiudi. He came from Medina (hence the name Muduni) at an early period, and settled near Ahmedabad.

|| Jumbhoosser is situated on the headland between the estuaries of the Nerbudda and the Muhi. Its sea-port Tunkaria is distant about

nine or ten Dutch miles from Brochia, on the road leading to Cambay. Here also is some indigo, but not of good quality.

Radiapore, or rather Brodera,* is distant from Amadavar forty-two coss; from Brochia, thirty coss or fifteen miles (Dutch) towards the south; from Cambay, as many miles to the east; from Jaunbaussar, fourteen miles. Radiapore was the old town; Brodera was built at a distance of about a mile and a half, and gradually absorbed all the population of Radiapore. It is a very beautiful town, built in a sandy plain on the bank of a little river called the Wassah. It is enclosed on all sides by a wall and by many out-works. The inhabitants are for the most part Baneanes. Subordinate to this town are two hundred and ten villages, none more distant than twenty or twenty-five miles.† Of these by far the most important is Sindikera, about sixteen coss from the town, toward the east; here a vast quantity of gum-lac is yearly collected; it is brought from the mountains which are distant from the village about fifteen or sixteen miles.

Niriand‡ is a large town about fourteen coss from Brodera, and ten from Amadabat; here also a great quantity of indigo is collected.

Candeve§ (I am not sure whether this is the same as Gondorce, incidentally mentioned above) is distant from Suratte nine Dutch miles to the south, and three from the sea-shore. It is a little town or rather a large village, placed on the banks of a small river; its inhabitants are almost entirely engaged in weaving.

In this province is the fortress of Jeloure,|| built on the top of a mountain; the ascent to which is by a pathway of three coss in length, tolerably broad and paved with stone. One coss from

ten miles to the south-west. An agency or sub-factory of the Company was established here in 1614. Among the India Office Records is a letter dated Gembuzar, January 3, 1615, from Christopher Farewell to John Oxwiche the factor at Baroach; acquainting the latter with his arrangements for the purchase of various commodities at this out-station, and advising him of the despatch of a quantity of indigo bought there.

* Baroda. A factory was established here in 1614, but was not very successful. The Surat factor wrote home to the Company in March 1615, that he had "factors left at Baroach for providing calicoes and cotton-yarn; purposed to have left others at Brodera for gum-lac, but found nothing

there." It is evident from the text that the gum-lac might have been obtained at a distance of sixteen coss from the town.

† These are Dutch miles; equal to seventy or eighty English miles.

‡ Now called Neriad. It is correctly placed in the text, with regard to Baroda and Ahmedabad. It was visited by Mildnal in 1606, who calls it "a great town where they make indigo."

§ Spelt in the modern maps Gundeeve. It is on the small river Kaverree, which flows into the Indian Ocean, some thirty-three miles south of the mouth of the Tapti.

|| The fortress of Jallor or Jhalore in Marwar, on the borders of Sirohi.

the foot is a gate and a guard of soldiers. From this point to the end of the second coss (where there is a double gateway) the path is enclosed on each side by a wall. The fortress itself is entered by three gates; whereof the first is iron-plated, and the third is armed with iron spikes. Within the gates, on the right is a most beautiful mosque; on the left the house of the Governor on the very summit of the mountain. Here, too, may be seen a pagoda built by the ancestors of Gydne Caun, who were Gentiles*; he himself, however, became a convert to Islam. He overthrew his elder brother, and took this fortress from him, and gave it up to the Great Mogul. About half-a-coss within the fortress is a square tank, cut out of the rock, said to be fifty cubits in depth, of the purest and most limpid water. A little beyond it is a maidan shaded with beautiful trees; and then, on the top of a pyramidal hill, the tomb of a king named Hassuard, who is held in much veneration in these parts on account of his bravery in war during life, and of the fame of his sanctity after death. This fortress is about eight coss in circumference, and considered one of the limits of the kingdom of Guzaratte.

On the coast of this kingdom, or rather on the southern promontory of the peninsula, is the town of Diu, where the Portuguese have a fortress. Texeira says that this town is called by the Indians and others *Dive* (the final 'e' being slightly sounded); this word signifies *island* (as in the words *Ange-dive*† five islands; *Nale-dive*, four islands, which the Portuguese call *Maldive*; and many similar words). This town is also called, to distinguish it from others, *Dive-New-Laka*; that is, the island of nine lakhs. The origin of the name is as follows:—The daughter of the king of this island once asked the promise of a gift from her father; and her request being granted, she demanded and obtained the revenues of one day, which amounted to nine lakhs of the money of that country. The Portuguese‡ first built a fort in the year 1535, with the consent of Badur,§ then king of Cambaya; afterwards they reduced the old town also, which remains in their hands to the present day.

To the east of Diu, and slightly to the north, is *Madafeldabar*,||

* The name by which the first Europeans in India distinguished the Hindus from the Musalmans.

† That is, *Panch-Dive*. *Anjedive* is an island about two miles from the coast of North Canara, and fifty-one miles south-east of Goa; it belongs to the Portuguese.

‡ Diu was long one of the principal stations of the Portuguese in India. They first settled here in 1515. In the year 1535, Bahadur Shah, king of Guzerat, took refuge

here in his flight from Humayun; and it appears from the text, that the Portuguese took advantage of this circumstance to obtain his consent to the construction of a fort. John Bailye, the English Company's factor at Bantam, wrote to the Directors in July 1614 "commending Diu as a most excellent place for trade."

§ Bahadur Shah, king of Guzerat. See the preceding note.

|| Perhaps the place mentioned in the accounts given by Purchas of the

on a sandy bay ; about ten miles north of which is Mohar, where there are immense ruins, but at present very few inhabitants.

THE PROVINCE OF CHANDIS* adjoins that of Guzuratte or Cambaja on the east. It is also called Sanda by the Portuguese. The road from Guzuratte through this province is as follows :—From Suratte to the village of Comvariauw are three coss ; thence to Mutta,† a very large village, seven coss ; thence to the town of Carode‡ (on the north side of which is the river that flows down to Suratte), eight coss. This town has a fortress and a guard of two hundred Patan cavalry. Thence to the large village of Curca,§ which lies on the north side of a river, twelve coss. Between the two last named places is the fortress of Beca with its tank and lake.

From Curca to Nacanpore|| are ten coss ; the latter is a great town under the rule of Pectosphavo.¶ On the right may be seen the ridges of the mountains which we mentioned above as commencing near Amadabat. Amongst these mountains are the dominions of Badur, who possesses there many very strong fortresses ; insomuch that the Mogul king with all his forces is unable to reduce him to subjection. These mountains extend towards Barampore, and produce great numbers of wild elephants.

From Nacanpore to Dayta** is a distance of eight coss ; between them is a very rocky river, which can only be crossed with the greatest difficulty. Dayta is a large city, with a fortress almost surrounded by the river, and with a very fertile territory. I hear from my Dutch informants that Dayta is distant from Baroda one hundred and twenty coss toward the east.

From Dayta ten coss bring one to Badur,†† a foul city and a nest of thieves ; here a sort of wine is expressed from the fruit Meua, which is unwholesome unless it be heated with fire. This is the frontier city of Pectospavi ; he is a Rajah or prince of the

famous fight between the English and the Portuguese under Nuno d'Acunhas in Swally Roads in 1612. Purchas says :—"The shallowness of the Bay gave occasion to the *Dragon*, which drew much water, to remove to the other side, neere unto Mendefrobag or Medhafrabadh, sometime a faire citie and walled, ruined by the Mogol's warres."

* Khandesh.

† Mota is a village about twenty-five miles due east of Surat. The east road however at present takes a different direction.

‡ This town appears to have

been near the site of the modern Maundavee.

§ This appears to be Songurh, on a small tributary of the Tapti.

|| Nacanpore is now called Nowapore, and lies between Songurh and the Western Ghats.

¶ See note, p. 343.

** Dayta or Dayeta is still a considerable town, on a southern tributary of the Tapti, and east of Nowapore.

†† Badur is at the present day a small town, about half-way between Dayeta and Nunderbar, immediately north of a range of hills.

middle rank ; a pagan, inhabiting the fastnesses of the mountains, which commence at Curca and extend over a great space of country. He possesses two beautiful cities, Saleren and Muleren, where the coins named Mamudies* are struck. Both cities possess strongly fortified citadels, each approached by a very narrow path. On the right and left of this path are eighty smaller forts, to render the road more secure from attack. In the fortresses themselves there are not only fertile fields, but also pastures. Achabar, the Emperor of the Indians, having besieged these places for seven whole years, at last made peace with the Raja on the following terms, *viz.*, that the latter should hold Nacanpore, Dayta, and Badur, and should cease to molest travellers in the plains. Hence at present this prince is on friendly terms with the Great Mogul, and yearly sends him presents ; and has given him as a hostage one of his sons, who is kept at Barampore. He is said to possess four thousand excellent mares and a hundred elephants.

From Badur to the city of Nonderbar† is a distance of eight coss. Around the latter are to be seen many monuments ; it has a fort and a very fine tank.

From Nonderbar to Lingul, ten coss ; the road is a very bad one. Here is a fortress ; but one of very little importance, and the inhabitants are infamous for their habits of thieving.

From Lingul to Sindkerry,‡ ten coss. It is a large city, but unpleasantly situated ; beyond it is a river, whose water is salt and unwholesome.

From Sindkerry to Taulnere,§ ten coss, by a road infested by thieves. The city is a beautiful one. It has a fortress adjoining it, and is on the banks of a river which is unfordable in the rainy season.

From Taulnere to Chupra,|| also a great city, fifteen coss ; to the village of Rawd,¶ six coss ; to Beawle,** a large town with

* Mamudies were only current in Western India. According to Fryer's account, in 1663, two hundred and twenty mamudies were exchanged for one hundred rupees. De Laët in his chapter on the money, weights, and measures of the Empire, says that a mamudi is equal to thirty pice, an English shilling being equivalent to thirty-three pice and a half.

† Nunderbar is an important town, lying south of the Tapti. A factory was established here by the Company in 1666, when the factory at Ahmedabad was relinquished.

‡ Lingul and Sindkerry are pro-

bably small villages only at the present day.

§ Talneir is now a considerable town on the north side of the Tapti, in Khandesh, but close to the frontiers of a small isolated strip of the dominions of Sindia.

|| Chupra is the chief town of the outlying piece of Sindia's territory mentioned above.

¶ Rawd is now called Arrawud, lying on the modern road from Chupra to Burhampore.

** Beawle is now called Yawul, and is still the next stage to Arrawud on the same road.

a fortress, ten coss; to Ravere,* a large town, sixteen coss; to Barampore, ten coss; from Barampore to Badurpore, a very beautiful city, two coss.

Barampore or Brampore,† which we have mentioned above as the capital of this province, is a vast city, but unpleasantly situated, and most unhealthy on account of the low ground and the intemperate climate. On the north it has a fortress, large and strongly fortified, hanging over the river which flows down to Suratte. In the river is a rock in the form of an elephant's head; the resemblance is so striking that it frequently deceives even the elephants themselves as they go to bathe. The common people among the Indians worship it, as they generally do in the case of other curious works of nature. Two leagues from the town is the garden of Chan-Channa,‡ a very powerful man; the road leading to it is shaded on both sides by trees. In the garden

* Ravere is probably either Sewda or Burgom, which are the two stages on the road from Yawul to Burhampore.

† Brampore, Burhampore, or Borehaunpore, is one of the most important towns in the dominion of Sindia, on the north side of the Tapti. It was visited in 1609 by Finch, who says (as quoted by Purchas) that it was "farre bigger than London, of great Trade, and faire." Sir Thomas Roe passed through in 1615, on his way from Surat to Ajmir; and he gives a full description of the town, and of the Court of Sultan Parviz (son of Jahangir) then held there. He obtained here a Firman (preserved among the India Office Records, and dated Burhampoor, the 29th of the month Teer and the eleventh year of the king's reign) from Mahomet Khan—probably Mohabat Khan, viceroy of Guzerat—permitting the English to trade freely at Baroach. Burhampore, having been the capital of the kings of Khandesh, was a town of the first importance under the Mogul Empire, especially during the wars in the Deccan against Malik Amber.

‡ We are told by Elphinstone that Mirza Abdur-Rahim was one of the most powerful Muhammadan nobles, born at Lahore in 1556. When he came of age, Akbar gave him the

title of Mirza Khan, and soon afterwards appointed him governor of Guzerat. At the age of twenty-eight, he was appointed tutor to Prince Selim (afterwards Jahangir); and in the same year was sent to put down the insurrection of Mozaffer Shah in Guzerat. For his victory over the latter (obtained, according to De Laët, at Sirkesa; see p. 352, note) he was made Khan-i-Khanan; and was afterwards made Wakil-i-Sultanat or Lord-Lieutenant of the empire. His daughter was married to Prince Daniyal. His influence was even greater under Jahangir; and he was more than once joined with Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) in the command of important expeditions. After receiving a check from the army of Malik Amber in 1611, he retired to Burhampore; and being superseded in his command by the emperor, he probably remained in retirement at the palace described in the text. Purchas tells us that in 1609 the crew of the *Assention* passed through "Bramport, where the great generall call Can Cannawe liveth, who on the 12th of October returned from the warres, with fiftene hundred elephants, thirty thousand horses, ten thousand camels, three thousand dromedaries." Mildnal speaks of his victory over Mozaffer Shah.

are the most delightful walks ; and a square tank, surrounded on all sides by a wall, and shaded by trees. English travellers say that this town is situated in latitude twenty-eight degrees north. Some say that the straight road from Surat to Brampore, going directly east, is two hundred and twenty-three miles in length, and that the intervening country is very sterile. My Dutch informants tell me that the distance is eighty Dutch miles.

Those who travel from Brampore towards Agra, at present the royal city of the Great Mogul, traverse at first a steep and rocky road over the lofty ridges of the mountains which extend to this place from Amadabat. Then they come to the strongly fortified castle of Hassere* on the top of a very lofty mountain. It is very large, and is said to be capable of containing fifty or sixty thousand cavalry. Within are very extensive tanks and pastures. Under the last king of Guzaratte it is said to have contained six hundred cannons. Achabar, the Mogul Emperor, reduced it after a very long siege. They say that the tanks bred innumerable worms, which caused the people to swell and burst asunder after drinking the water ; and that this disease was the reason of their surrender. English travellers say that the fortress is distant sixteen miles from Brampore ; our countrymen affirm that it is only five miles.

From Brampore to Barre,† a large village, is a distance of twelve coss, by a difficult road ; to Camla, a small village eleven coss ; to Magergom,‡ another large village, four coss ; to Kergom,§ a very large town, ten coss ; and all this road is difficult and steep. To Berkul,|| a small village, thirteen coss ; to the town of Taxapore,¶ eight coss. In this last stage, the river Narvor is crossed, which is believed to flow down to Broachia.

Taxapore is a city of only moderate size ; but it has a very beautiful castle. The river washes the town ; but if you wish to ford it with camels, you must turn a little to the left. Here there are waterfalls ; and the channel is about an English mile in breadth.

From Taxapore to Mandoa** is a distance of three coss ; the path is a narrow one, ascending a rocky and precipitous mountain (these mountains run from north to south). On the slope of the

* Asirghur. This fortress was captured by Akbar in the year 1601, when he appointed Prince Daniyal (with his father-in-law, the Khan-i-Khanan to aid him) viceroy of Khandesh and Berar. It was taken from the Mahrattas by Colonel Stevenson in 1803.

† Now called Borgom, or the village Bor.

‡ Probably Bheckergom, a village on the road from Asirghur to Mandu.

§ Kergom, a town west of the last-mentioned village, on the river Koon-dee, a tributary of the Nerbudda.

|| Probably Bulkur, a town between Kergom and Mandu.

¶ The river Nerbudda (which is evidently indicated, under the name *Narvor*, in the next sentence,) is now crossed by the road near a village called Bamangom ; this may be the site of the ancient Taxapore.

** Mandu. See note, p. 342.

mountain is the gate of the ancient city of Mandoa ; above which is the fortress with the palace. The walls of the city, however, wind round the mountain in a circuit of many miles. On the left of the entrance a strongly fortified castle is conspicuous, and in other parts ten or twelve other forts. For about two coss within the gate of which we have spoken the city is entirely destroyed, with the exception of a few monuments and temples ; immense ruins are seen here and there. The old city extends four coss from north to south ; and ten or twelve from east to west. Scattered about in the city are no less than sixteen tanks. The modern city of Mandoa is very beautiful, but far smaller than the ancient one. It has very many fine buildings constructed of stone ; and high gates, such as you will see in hardly any other place. As you enter it from the south, a beautiful mosque is opposite to you on the left ; and near it a sumptuous palace, where four kings are buried in richly decorated tombs. At the side rises a lofty tower of one hundred and seventy steps, with its porticoes and windows, and supported on magnificent columns and arches. In the northern quarter is a strongly fortified gate with a precipitous descent, and beyond it are six other gates, all well fortified and surrounded with strong walls. The wall is built with its barbicans on the right and left, although the mountain is difficult of ascent and appears sufficiently fortified by Nature ; thus the position is absolutely impregnable. They say that Hamaun the Mogul prince took this place partly by force, partly by stratagem, from Schec-Sha-Selim,* whose progenitors had taken it from the Indians some four hundred years before. This Sha-Selim, a most powerful king of Delly, had defeated Hamaun and compelled him to take refuge in Persia. Hamaun, returning with Persian auxiliaries, defeated Selim in his turn ; the latter, however, during the whole of Hamaun's reign and a part of that of Achabar, maintained his independence by lurking in various hiding-places amongst the mountains. Beyond the walls of the city there were formerly extensive suburbs, whereof only the ruins are now to be seen.

* There is some confusion in the names here. In the historical portion of our author's work (to which we have alluded in the introductory notice) we are informed that Tzeer-Sha, the conqueror of Humayun—obviously the Shir Khan or Shir Shah of our histories—bore also the names *Tyech Mecha* and *Ferried Khan*. The former is evidently preserved in the *Shech-Sha* of the text ; and is as evidently indicated in the following sen-

tence. But the prince from whom Humayun took Mandu was not Shu Shah but Bahadur Shah, King of Guzerat. Moreover the text appears to imply that Humayun recovered his kingdom from the same prince by whom he had been deposed ; the error is, however, corrected in the above-mentioned historical fragment, which gives a very interesting detailed account of the circumstances.

I find it noted by our Dutch people that Mandoa is fifty Dutch miles to the east of Brochia ; by the English authorities the distance is ^{said} to be one hundred and fifty miles.

MALWA bounds the province of Chandes on the north. It has a most fertile soil, and produces a great quantity of opium. The road to Agra, which we commenced above, is continued as follows :— From Mandoa to Lunchaira, a small *Saray* (this is the name for an inn), four coss by a most difficult road. To Dupalpore,* a small town, fourteen coss ; the road easier. To Onglu,† a very beautiful city, twelve coss ; to the village Conoseia, eleven coss ; to Sunenarry,‡ a small town, eight coss. The road in this part is difficult and infested by thieves ; for the barbarians who inhabit the mountains on the left are continually lying in wait to attack travellers. The name of these barbarous tribes is said to be Grasiyas.§ To Pimpelgom, ten coss ; in the intermediate region, but away from the royal road, is the great town of Sarampore,|| with a fortified citadel on its southern side. From this to the village of Cukra,¶ which abounds in all kind of provisions and in wine made from meira,** seven coss. To Delout, a large village, twelve coss ; nearly half of this road is difficult on account of the steep and rocky mountains, and is also infested by thieves ; the remainder of the road is easy. To Burrouw†† a little village, seven coss ; all provisions are abundant here, except flesh which is scarce along the whole of this route. To Suckesera,‡‡ a little town, seven coss. To Syrange,§§ one of the chief towns of this

* Called in the modern maps, Deyalpore, between Mandu and Ougein.

† Our author has evidently taken this itinerary from a manuscript (probably an English one), in which he has mistaken the *en* in Ougen, for *lu* ; and has consequently failed to identify this well-known city.

‡ A modern map gives Suneiro as a village on this route.

§ The Grasiyas are said by Thornton to be "sunk lower in barbarism" than any of the other aboriginal tribes.

|| Sarungpore is on the right or east bank of the Kallee Sind river, which is here crossed by a ford. The route from Mandu to Sironj (as given in the text) here crosses the modern road from Goona to Mow. The alteration of the system of roads in this part of India is evidently due to the rise of Indore, Mow, and

many places of comparatively recent origin, at the expense of Mandu and most of the ancient towns of Malwa.

¶ This is probably Cujnir or Cuxneer, at present one of the chief towns in Omutwarra, and near the modern town of Rajgurb, the residence of the Rawul.

** This is perhaps a sort of anisette extracted from the *moura*.

†† Called in the modern maps, Beowra.

‡‡ This is probably the ford over the Parbutty, which is crossed in the locality indicated by the distances given in the text.

§§ Sironj is an important town in an outlying portion of the dominions of Tonk. It is, however, much decayed ; at the time of our author it was doubtless large and populous. When Tavernier visited it at a later period,

province, seven coss. The town is a fine one, and surrounded by delightful gardens, in which is grown a great quantity of betel.

From Syringa to Cuchenary* *saray*, eight coss; to Sadura,† five coss; to Collebage, seven coss; to Qualere,‡ twelve coss, a pleasant little town, surrounded by tamarind and mango trees; to Cypry§ seven coss; the road is difficult, and infamous for the numerous robberies committed on it; the town itself is surrounded by walls, its houses beautiful and built of wrought stone. To Norwar|| twelve coss, by a road desolate and infested by robbers. The town is built at the foot of a mountain; on the top of the mountain is a fort, which is approached by a narrow path paved with stones and guarded by three gates, each defended by a suitable garrison. No stranger is permitted to enter without a license from the king. The town itself is vast and spacious; and the whole mountain is said to have formerly been surrounded by a wall and outworks; for at one time it was the limit of the kingdom of Mando, and then possessed very many cannon. At the present time, the walls seem likely soon to become mere ruins.

THE PROVINCE OF GUALIAR is on the eastern frontier of Malwa. The route, which we have hitherto followed, is thus continued. From Narwar to Palachan,¶ seven coss; to Antro,** a very large town, twelve coss; to Qualere, six coss. This city is the capital of the province, to which also it gives its name. It is a delightful place, and strongly fortified. On its eastern side, on the summit of a steep mountain, are the ruins of an edifice in which it is said that many great men have been buried. On the western side, there is a lofty hill, precipitous on all sides, extending over a space

it was still crowded with merchants and artisans, and famous for its fine muslins and chintzes. When Tieffenthaler visited it, it was surrounded by walls; these have now disappeared, but the fine bazar mentioned by him still remains. It was granted in 1798 by Holkar to Amír Khan.

* This *serai*, on the road from Sironj to Gwalior, is still in existence under the name of Cuchnai Serai. From Sironj the route in the text appears to be identical with the modern road, nearly following the course of the river Sind; and hence, most of the places can be identified.

† Sadura is now Shahdoura.

‡ Now called Kalarus.

§ Cypry is spelt in the modern maps Shepoory.

|| Narwar, in the territories of Sindia, is one of the most ancient fortresses in India. It is said to have been founded by Nal, rajah of the Kachwaha Rajpoots, who emigrated from Ayodhya (Oudh) in A. D. 295. It was taken in 1506 by blockade by Sikander Lodi. It has much decayed since it came into Sindia's possession; it is described by Tieffenthaler as a fine and well-built city. At present a broad flight of 360 stone steps leads from the city to the fort; and the latter is still guarded by three successive gates.

¶ Now called Peraitch or Palaich, a small town at the ford of the Parbutty, a small tributary of the Sind.

** Antro or Antree is a town about thirteen miles due south of Gwalior.

of six coss or more, and surrounded by a strong wall. At the very commencement of the path which leads from the city to this fortress, is the guard-house, enclosed by very high walls; here the garrison is always on guard. From this a narrow pathway, paved with stones and protected on the right and left by a wall, leads up to the top of the mountain: it is guarded by three gates one after another, each with its garrison. Before the fourth and highest gate stands the figure of an elephant* skilfully cut out of stone. This gate is most sumptuously built of green and blue stones; on the top are several gilded turrets that shine brilliantly. Here the Governor of the place dwells; and here also state-prisoners† are confined. The king is said to have three prisons of this kind. The second is at Rantipore,‡ forty coss from this place; whither the king sends those whom he has condemned to death. They are for the most part kept here for two months; after which the Governor brings them out, places them on the top of the wall, and having caused them to drink some milk, casts them down headlong on the rocks beneath. The third prison-fortress is in the fort of Rotas§ in the province of Bengal, whither are sent those who are condemned to imprisonment for life; they very seldom manage to escape.

The ridge of the mountain on which Gualere is built, is very fertile, and has three or four tanks, and many beautiful edifices. On the side of the town facing the north-west, fallow and pasture lands extend for a great space, surrounded on all sides by a wall; herein are most beautiful gardens and orchards. This town with its fort was formerly the boundary between the kingdoms of Delly and Mandoa. From Gualere to Mendaker, nine coss; to Doulpore|| ten coss.

(To be continued.)

* This gate is well-known as the Hathipul, or elephant-gate.

† Here Akbar confined his cousin, Abul-Qasim, son of Kamran; Aurangzeb confined here Prince Morad and his son, and the two sons of Prince Dara; none of whom left the place alive.

‡ Rintimbor, in Jeypoor.

§ Rhotasguri in Shahabad.

|| Dholpore is about thirty-seven miles north of Gwalior. The ancestors of the Raja of Dholpore formerly possessed, as Ranas of Gohud (see note, p. 344), the fort and much of the territory of Gwalior.

ART. VII.—EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

IF any one turns to this article in the hope of finding a discussion of the controversy on the subject of vernacular education, which has for some time been raging between the Government of India and the Bengal authorities, his expectation will be disappointed. We have had our fill of fighting, and now only claim the attention of those who agree with us in thinking that it is advisable to throw aside all party feeling, and consider the matter at issue without imperial or provincial bias, on the plain ground of facts, and with a single eye to the interest of the people of Bengal.

There are personal considerations, too, which compel us to preserve an attitude of neutrality. After reading an indignant philippic in the *Englishman*, our blood boils to think that the government of this great country is entrusted to a band of miscreants, whose feeble perverseness of intellect is only equalled by the baseness of their hearts; but when the morning post comes in, the delicate banter of the *Pioneer* upsets all our previous notions, and leaves us fully persuaded that Sir William Grey is the most incapable of rulers, and that as popular prejudice will not allow us to slaughter or deport the whole race of Bengali Babus, the least we can do is to tax them in their rising up and lying down, in their going out and coming in, and in whatsoever they do. Towards evening a third change comes. When the cool sea-breeze has superinduced a calm and reflective frame of mind, the thought recurs to us that, if all which is said be true, the Allahabad cynic is a hireling who has sold himself body and soul, Heaven knows to whom and for what, while the glowing eloquence of Hare Street is no better than idle tail-lashing; and the end of it all is a devout and fervent prayer that Mr. Chisholm Anstey may be allowed to do his worst, and by consigning both Lord Mayo and Sir William Grey to the dungeons of the Tower, divert our minds from the necessity of deciding between the policies which they respectively represent.

Non nostrum tantas componere lites. Whatever our views may be on the subject of the Permanent Settlement and local cesses, it is very unlikely that we should make many converts at a time when every loyal soldier in each hostile camp has enough to do in burnishing his arms for the fight without wasting his time in listening to what he considers the feeble inanities of the adversary. We therefore refrain from discussing in detail the financial aspect of the education question and prefer to consider a point which has

generally been too much overlooked, namely, what we are to do with our money when we get it. The present controversy must, like all other human institutions, some day come to an end, and it is pretty certain that the funds which are required will, from one source or another, be forthcoming; we may therefore perhaps be permitted to plunge at once *in medias res*, without stopping to strengthen our position as an assailant or defender of the Permanent Settlement by discussing the important collateral questions whether Lord Mayo did or did not prove himself to be a great statesman in his dealings with Irish Fenians; whether Sir Richard Temple or Mr. Strachey is more likely to succeed Mr. Lowe at the Exchequer; and whether Mr. Eden was or was not justified in going on to Poonakha.

Leaving, then, for the present all questions regarding local taxation, we prefer to consider the educational policy of Bengal chiefly with reference to the actual work which it has already done and is now doing, in the hope of showing that its errors and deficiencies are such as seem to indicate the necessity rather for careful and gradual reforms than for any such revolutionary changes as have been sometimes a little wildly suggested. If the matter be looked at from this point of view, the first necessity is evidently a clear view of the actual facts. We require to know something regarding the social and moral atmosphere of a Bengali village, and the economic relations of its inhabitants amongst themselves and with the outside world. We must in short inform ourselves regarding the present condition and real needs of the various classes of the community, before we can hope to decide with any degree of certainty on the best means of improving their position.

This task may, at first sight, appear a very easy one, but there are difficulties which do not show themselves on the surface. It is true that we have held Bengal longer than any other part of India, and that for several generations it has contained not only a large staff of officials, but also a considerable number of missionaries, planters and other non-official Europeans, who cannot have failed to learn all that is easily to be known regarding the people among whom they lived. All this is true; but very little of all these stores of knowledge has ever been published, and still less of it is readily accessible. If we could collect even a tenth part of what has been incidentally written regarding the social condition of Bengal in the course of various books and reports, we should have all and more than all the information we require; but there is a very little matter of this kind to be found in the numerous special treatises on education which have been published within the last few years, and our readers will therefore perhaps pardon our going back for a moment to this elementary subject. But first, in order to avoid the danger of misconception, it is as

well to say that we have no fault to find with the writers of the treatises just referred to. The two among them whose names carry most authority, Messrs. Monteath and Howell, are men whose ability and earnestness require no praise of ours; and if, as we contend, the education question has been treated by them as well by others to some extent on a wrong basis, the blame must lie on other shoulders. They* admirably carried out the special task with which they were entrusted, and if their reports give us more information regarding the machinery of public instruction than regarding the education actually imparted and its effect on the people of India, our complaint lies, not against Messrs. Monteath and Howell, but against those who set their task, or rather against the system under which machinery is regarded as of more consequence than results.

Nor is it with regard to education only that a complaint of this kind can reasonably be made. Many of our readers will perhaps remember the September day in 1858, when all India was called on to rejoice and illuminate on occasion of the extinction of the old Company's government and the accession of the Queen of England to the throne of India. Some of them may have felt a little sore at heart and vexed at being compelled to rejoice over the death of an old and generous master, and a little doubtful whether the new system of government would prove an unmingled good. If so, they had some of the wisest men in England to share their opinion, and we cannot but think that the history of the last twelve years has already done much towards demonstrating its correctness. During these twelve years there has undoubtedly been a great deal of what is usually called progress, but in estimating the value of what has been done, it should be remembered that the imitation of European systems of administration and even the increase of commerce and industrial production are not necessarily and in themselves advantageous, but only so far as they tend to elevate and improve the condition of the people.

If any one will be at the pains of comparing the administrative history of the last decade with that of an equal number of years

* It is true that some people criticise rather roughly Mr. Howell's naive mode of calculating the cost of each boy who passes the entrance examination, by simply dividing amongst the successful competitors the whole expense of the schools in which they are educated, and omitting from consideration the ten times more numerous students who compete unsuccessfully or not at all; but for our

own part we regard with feelings of gratitude any one who in this dry and thirsty land affords us a hearty laugh. Moreover, any one who is set to manipulate figures as if they were facts, is sure to produce some brilliant absurdity or other, and Mr. Howell has probably done less in this way than most of his critics would have done, if it had been their melancholy duty to make bricks without straw.

an official generation or two ago, he will find that the principles of government followed during the earlier period, were radically different from those at present in vogue. In those earlier days the initiative was generally taken by the local authorities and on grounds of local expediency. Some practical evil having been felt, an attempt was made to remedy it. At the present day we have got far beyond this primitive and unscientific mode of government. Our eyes are fixed not on India but on England, and our action often aims not so much at the reform of some existing abuse as at the imitation of some European practice. No one can read the clear and exhaustive judgments contained in the monthly volumes of High Court Reports without having the conviction forced upon him that, whatever may have formerly been the case, the mofussil Magistrates and other local officials of the present day are generally actuated in everything they do by corrupt and spiteful motives. This is so evidently the case, that in criminal appeals one often feels that, if justice were to be done, the Magistrate on the bench should change places with the pure and honourable man whom his persecution has driven into the dock, and there is reason to hope that, if this exchange is found impracticable, a compromise will at least be devised under which the self-sacrificing men who under the existing system from motives of pure humanity act as pleaders in defence of the oppressed, may be vested with judicial powers without at the same time giving up those personal relations with their clients which enable them fully to sympathize with their misfortunes. So much, we believe, has long been admitted, but it is not so generally known, and this is the point at which we are really driving, that not only are local officials in general grossly corrupt and ignorant of the laws which they daily administer, but moreover they, in common with non-official Europeans residing in the mofussil and the natives of the country, are almost totally blind to everything that goes on before their eyes, and the only knowledge worth having is that derived by central authorities from tabular statements. It is true, that our local Government to some extent endeavours to make use of the special knowledge—as their poor parochial minds esteem it—of its subordinate, but perhaps in consequence of this very fact it has now become evident that the Bengal Government itself, if not parochial, is at least provincial in its views, and that the Imperial authorities who have an opportunity of comparing the tabular statements of Bengal with those of other provinces, are alone in a position to arrive at safe conclusions. So far we have already got, but there is no reason why we should despair of still further progress. We all hope that the era of international wars and jealousies will some day pass away, and Europe resolve itself into a confederation of the peoples, and when that blessed day comes, there is no reason

why uniform tabular statements should not be drawn up regarding all the nations of the world, and perfect political wisdom thereby be secured. This is in fact perhaps the mode in which we may expect our hopes of a millennium to be realized.

This, then, is the present method of administration. The Government of India, as the great central depository of tabular statements, or in other words of truth, casts its reflective eye around the world, and considers whether there is not some instrument of European origin which it can introduce to benefit the benighted people of India, and our juries, our sanitary science,* our jail discipline, and our reproductive† public works, are in themselves sufficient to show that this system has not been barren of results.

In other words and in sober earnest, we complain of the way in which the education question and many others have recently been treated. There has been too much theory and too little fact, too much machinery and too little regard for actual results. Mere statistics have been taken as the basis on which to build a new policy, and scant consideration has been given to the real needs and desires of the people.

When we descend to the level of facts, the first point which has to be noticed is the extraordinary notion which is generally entertained regarding the condition of the lower classes in Bengal. Theoretic philanthropists and Calcutta Babus, imitating their language, have so often told us in somewhat general terms of the miserable and forlorn condition of the ryots, and these accounts form such an admirable weapon in the hands of men who are hostile to the present Bengal land-laws, that those who know—as mofussil officers and planters do—the real facts of the case, find it hard to obtain a hearing. If men of this class were consulted, they would tell the educational enthusiasts that the peasantry of Bengal are on the whole a decidedly well-to-do class. They do not wear warm clothes and read Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, nor do they eat bacon, or enjoy an hour's sound sleep once a week in their parish church; but, except in famine years, which in Bengal are fortunately rare and in its eastern districts almost unknown, actual want of

* The term science has perhaps never been more grossly misused than when it is applied to the few detached facts which constitute the sum of our knowledge on the subject of hygiene, with the simple and tolerably obvious practical rules which have been deduced therefrom.

† We use the term 'reproductive' because it is usually applied to the class of works to which we refer.

We are not, however, among the hopeful few who believe that most of our state railways and canals will ever prove to have been profitable investments. The ebb and flow of the political tides seem in India to last on an average about five years, and the enthusiasm for reproductive expenditure will probably have given place to some other craze before the year 1875.

food is never felt by any class of the people, and the peasantry generally can command as much food and clothing as they require, with such lodging as they consider comfortable, and not unfrequently silver ornaments for their wives and daughters. Land seeking for ryots is far more common than ryots seeking for land, and though landlords acting in a commercial spirit may sometimes press their tenants hard, it has to be done with a good deal of caution, because, among other reasons, a man who chooses to give up his ancestral bit of land and open up new ground elsewhere, has no difficulty in getting as much as he likes on favourable terms. The whole social atmosphere, too, is conservative. The general feeling is in favour of perpetuity of tenure, and actual rack rents are very rare. Nor is the Bengali ryot wanting in intelligence. He not only knows what his rights are, but is perfectly ready to go to law in defence of them, and though he will often pay more than our laws will uphold his landlord in claiming, yet a landlord generally finds it hard work to get anything to which he is not entitled by recognized and old established custom. While then we do not defend the present state of things as anything like perfect, but would eagerly adopt any practical measures tending to render the lower classes more independent and self-reliant, to give them a higher standard of comfort, or in any way to raise them in the scale of humanity, yet we cannot pass by the distorted and exaggerated class of statements above referred to without pointing out their inaccuracy.

It may be objected to us that all this is mere assertion, but we have no hesitation in appealing to any one who is familiar with the mofussil of the Lower Provinces for a confirmation of our views, and so long as the usual heart-rending pictures of Bengali life are only drawn by men whose knowledge has been gathered in distant provinces of India or in the course of occasional evening drives along the Strand in Calcutta, it is hardly worth our while to be at the trouble of collecting facts to demonstrate their fictitious character.*

* As an instance of the funny mistakes which are caused by want of adequate local knowledge, we may mention having seen it, argued that Bengal is in a backward and neglected state, as compared with the Upper Provinces of India, because she can boast of fewer good roads. Apparently the writer did not know, or it did not occur to him to reflect, that most parts of the Lower Provinces are provided by the hand of God with highways of commerce in the form of rivers and khals, which the North-

West could not hope to rival if it spent its whole revenue on nothing else for a century. An hour spent on the banks of the Pudda or one of its tributaries in watching the ceaseless traffic which goes on upon them would have prevented such a blunder. It is the constant occurrence of absurdities like this in the generalizations of our present centralized Government, which causes it to be daily more and more regarded by practical men both official and non-official, with a feeling akin to contempt.

The incorrect popular notions regarding the social condition of Bengal are among the greatest obstacles to a calm consideration of the education question on the basis of facts, and we have therefore given them precedence among the various obstructions which have to be swept away before any useful work can be done, but wild and delusive as those popular notions are, we doubt whether they have done so much towards misleading public opinion as the false analogy which has been drawn between this country and England, and the thoughtless manner in which ideas and arguments only applicable to European life have been allowed to influence men's minds, when they have had to deal with a wholly different organization of society. Mr. Howell, in his recent address to the Social Science Association, expressed the opinion that we are in much greater danger of suffering from the careless or apathetic neglect of the lessons to be learned from the experience of other countries, than from a failure to appreciate the full force of local peculiarities hidden under a superficial resemblance. In this opinion we find it impossible to concur. In almost every question of Indian politics, and not least in that of education, the greatest and most constant source of error at the present day appears to us to be the careless and inconsiderate importation of inapplicable European maxims and ideas. England, as every one knows, is above all things a land of great manufacturing cities and of individual independence. By the gradual confiscation of their ancient rights and under the influence of feudal land-laws, the people at large have been driven out of the heritage of their ancestors, while the land has been massed in the hands of a few hundred proprietors. Enormous wealth at one end of the social scale is counterbalanced by thousands of paupers at the other. The land is actually tilled by mere day-labourers, who, having finally lost all right even in the village commons, have fallen year by year to a lower level, till they now in some counties hardly exceed in intelligence and independence the far more comfortably housed cattle which they tend, while their only hope, after a life of ceaseless toil, is to end their days in the work-house. The thousands, who, in a healthier state of society, would be supported by the lands of our Marquises of Westminster and Butte, are driven away to the towns where every walk of life is already so crowded that, but for the safety valve of emigration, the pauperism which even now threatens to swamp them must inevitably have bred a revolution. Every boy in England, to speak generally, has to shift for himself, as soon as he is old enough to make his bread. If he can not shoulder his way in his own rank of life, he must emigrate or sink to a lower. Knowledge is power, and the man who is unfitted by education for any skilled employment, has little before him but the life of a factory hand, a day-

labourer or a thief, and all these professions are overstocked like the rest. And all the time democracy is yearly coming nearer, so that the desire of self-preservation urges us to educate our masters, while humanity forbids that any child should be sent out into the world to fight the battle of life with no more hope of success than if he were blind or maimed.

India on the other hand is almost exclusively agricultural, and the family is still the social unit, so that no man has to start in life on his own sole resources. Instead of having to carve his own way in the world, he inherits a profession or a share in a bit of land, and unless some famine chance to come in his time, he lives and dies in his native village as his father did before him. There are of course exceptions to the general rule in India as well as in England, but it is the general rule nevertheless.

And this is not the only or the chief difference between the two countries. At home the term primary education means something, because when a boy can read and write, he has access to the boundless stores of knowledge and thought embodied in the literature of England. Books and newspapers are everywhere around him, and he can hardly avoid coming in contact with new ideas. In this country the case is quite different, for a popular literature worthy of the name has still to be created, and it is an entire misuse of terms to say that we educate or do anything towards educating a boy when we simply enable him to read the *Mahabharata* for himself instead of hearing it droned over by a neighbour. He asks for bread in the shape of new ideas to wake the torpid powers of his mind, and we give him a stone in the form of increased facility in repeating again and again his old world fables. Not only then is there no sort of comparison between the necessity for educating the masses here and in England, but moreover what we put forward here as primary education is in fact no education at all; and if we want really to learn what can be done towards raising the position of the masses in India, the first thing we must do is to put out of our heads and forget all ideas borrowed from English life.

There are other misconceptions and misrepresentations which have to be removed before we can find a firm foundation for a practical scheme of reform. Almost all writers on the subject of education in India have made it one of their chief complaints that, while great attention is paid in Bengal to English education, the mass of the people are far less instructed than in any other province, and it is almost superfluous to add that in support of this notion the principal argument is drawn from the statistics of educational machinery. Unfortunately, like most other arguments drawn from tabular statements, it has very little in the way of actual fact to support it. Vernacular Schools under Government management or supervision are no doubt much less numerous in

Bengal than in most other provinces ; but there is nothing to show that the proportion of the population who can read and write, is less in the Lower Provinces than elsewhere. When Mr. Adams wrote his report on vernacular education, it was estimated that there were in Bengal about 100,000 village-schools or patshalas, and there is no doubt that Babu Joykishen Mookerjee was right when he lately stated that in almost every village one of these institutions is still to be found. It is true that the instruction given by a village Guru is of a very defective character. *Sisu Sebodhi*, *Data Karna*, *Ganga Bandhana*, and *Guru Dakhina*, are undoubtedly not works much calculated to stimulate activity of intellect, nor is the orthography prevalent in indigenous village-schools at all such as would commend itself to a rigid grammarian ; but on the other hand it must be remembered that even in those provinces where an attempt is more extensively made to provide Government vernacular schools for the lower classes, a very small part of the whole number of pupils taught ever get beyond the lowest classes, in which the instruction given is little different from that of the Guru. Thus of the 98,211 pupils who were taught in the village schools of the North-west Provinces during the year 1866-67, the large number of 58,363 belonged to the lowest class, in which only reading and writing and figures are taught, while no less than 91,325 were in or below the 6th class, in which the official course of studies is "arithmetic (first four rules), a tale of rural life, map of the district, writing on slates." And there is one subject, arithmetic, in which boys are much more efficiently taught in village schools of the old indigenous class than in those conducted on the English system. The method employed may not be as rational as ours, but the practical result is a much greater facility in simple calculations and account-keeping than is gained by the pupils of Government schools.

We are quite prepared to admit, that even in the lowest classes the teaching of schools conducted on the English method is on the whole better than that of the Patshalas ; but we nevertheless feel bound to point out the absurdity of omitting these latter institutions altogether from consideration, and assuming that primary education is less common in the Lower Provinces than elsewhere, simply because there are fewer schools of the lowest class in connection with Government. Whether the proportion of persons who can read and write is smaller or larger in Bengal than elsewhere, we have no sufficient means of learning with any degree of certainty, and we therefore leave it open. This much however we do know, that men would not print books if there were no demand for them, and that Bengal in which vernacular education is popularly said to be altogether neglected, is the only province of India in which an extensive vernacular press and a large and growing vernacular literature

has any existence. We freely admit that neither the newspapers nor the books are for the most part much to be proud of ; but they at least argue the existence of a large reading class. Nor is it at all the case, as is sometimes asserted, that this literature is only for the use of Calcutta and its neighbourhood. Any one who knows anything of Bengal knows that books, and even newspapers, are to be found in almost every village.

Another point regarding which the wildest ideas are prevalent, is the difference between educating men in the class to which they belong and educating them so as to raise them out of it—between the desire of education for its own sake and the desire to make use of it as a means towards worldly advancement. The simple fact we believe to be, that education never has been, and probably never will be, generally valued for its own sake in any country whatever. A Socrates may be found now and then with a passionate devotion to the pursuit of beauty and truth, and a considerable number of minds are to be met with in all cultivated communities which revolt against the Philistinism around them, and by striving to reach the realities which underlie the current shams and conventionalities of the time, show that they value knowledge for its own sake. But these are exceptional cases. Among the great mass of mankind, when education is valued at all, it is valued either because current ideas regard a certain amount of culture as respectable and becoming in certain stations of society, or because it affords means of getting on in the world. Vanity and the desire of wealth govern men's actions in regard to education just as much as in regard to everything else. If we want to stimulate the desire for education generally, or for instruction of any particular kind, we can do so generally only in one of two ways : either by making it profitable, or by teaching public opinion to regard it as respectable and necessary. It is possible that in England the compulsory education of a single generation might metamorphose the whole character of the agricultural classes, and it is certain that in one or two generations at most it would produce economic changes in the existing relations between master and man which some of us long for as the most powerful means of national regeneration, though the landlord class, or, as Matthew Arnold calls them, the Barbarians, are hardly yet sufficiently enlightened to relish the prospect, if they had eyes to foresee it. This is true of England ; and even in India, where the economic laws of God and man are less widely different, universal compulsory education, if such a thing were possible, would no doubt be productive of great results ; but for the present it is idle to talk of such heroic remedies, and so little can be done in a single lifetime with the means which are really at our disposal, that we must resolve to walk by faith and not by sight—to spend and be spent in the weary

work of hewing and digging and sowing, content with the belief that if our seed be good, there will a harvest to reap, though it be in the distant future.

It may perhaps be thrown in our teeth that we are falling into the very fault reprobated above of judging Indian matters by an English standard, and we freely admit that England as the great metropolis of snobbism and money-worship, and the one country in the world where nothing but wealth and social position is considered valuable, cannot safely be taken as a measure to anything but itself. We maintain, however, that even in those countries where the beauties of nature and art and the delights of human fellowship are more highly valued, and where men are not wholly absorbed in the pursuit of gain, they still educate their sons far more with reference to profit and social customs than to any ideal standard of human culture. In India at all events, no such standard is recognised by the mass of the people. So much, we suppose, all will admit, and it therefore necessarily follows that if the idea of compulsion be rejected, our only means of inducing men to educate their children, even when the requisite machinery is provided, must be to show them that it is profitable, and gradually to lead the public opinion of each class towards a higher level of requirement.

If the existing educational system of Bengal be considered with reference to its present results, there is no great difficulty in laying one's finger on its real faults and deficiencies. Even the highest and most successful class of students who may have employed all the means of instruction and won all the honours which our colleges offer—even these men do not generally show an altogether satisfactory result of our teaching. Endowed as the Bengali is with great acuteness and immense powers of steady application, he has a marvellous facility in acquiring a ready command of fluent English, and in becoming familiar with the results of European thought. But his acquirements are for the most part superficial. His powers and habits of thought are not improved to the same degree as those of expression, and, however familiar he may be with the words of European writers and thinkers, it is generally apparent that he very imperfectly appreciates the real sentiments and principles whose outward expression he so skilfully imitates. His acquaintance with fact is large; but his faculty of independent thought and criticism small. What he wants is not knowledge, but the power to assimilate it.

This, however, is for the present unavoidable. The child is father of the man, and though a genius may be found now and then who contradicts all ordinary rules, it is inevitable that the majority of mankind should be what their early training tended

to make them, and should thoroughly assimilate only such ideas as naturally belong to the moral and intellectual atmosphere in which they have lived from childhood. The European type of thought can no more be spontaneously produced on the soil of India than the idea of York Minster could be inspired by Pauranic Brahmanism—and we shall inevitably be disappointed if we expect our students at once to accomplish more than an external resemblance to an alien type. The Hindu mind has many admirable characteristics, which the more material Anglo-Saxon would do well to study, but it can only be formed and developed by the gradual operation of natural laws, and it is idle to hope that we can at once create the moral purpose, the artistic sense, and the personal independence, which the nations of Europe inherit from our spiritual ancestors, the Jew, the Greek, and the German.

The British Philistine with his constitutional freedom and trial by jury, his Evangelical or Anglican Christianity, his dinner-parties and his tall black hat, is about the blindest worshipper of nostrums and formuke that the world has yet produced, and it is no merit of his that he has a more genuine and effective belief in European ideas, a firmer grasp of facts, and a more constant and abiding, though often unconscious, faith in the law and order of the universe, than a man by whom all such notions must have been reached, if at all, through a distinct intellectual process. They are the outcome of all the past history of Europe. An Englishman sucks them in with his mother's milk, and inhales them without knowing it in every breath he breathes. But before *izzut*, for instance, can give place to honour, some substitute must be created for the traditions which have come down to us from the chivalry of our fathers.

What is wonderful is not that in some points we have failed, but the great extent to which we have succeeded, and in all our schemes of reform the one thing most to be avoided and fought against is any proposal to relax our efforts in imparting the higher education, without which all talk about the instruction of the masses is mere empty verbiage. If the education of the people of India means anything, it means the introduction of western ideas, and such ideas can only germinate and become fruitful, when presented in an Indian form, when assimilated and reproduced by an Indian mind. To create a channel through which European ideas can reach the people of India, is the real object of our higher education; and this it is which makes all thoughtful men ready to reform our system in every possible way, to make it more thorough and practical, and to introduce if possible a moral element, but never to give it up. And this is a case in which theory and practice entirely agree. It is manifest *a priori* that intelligence can

only reach the masses through a highly educated class, and Bengal, the only Province where the higher education has been successfully attempted, is also the only one where our teaching has produced any tangible effects upon any class whatever. Elsewhere we have taught a few peasants and traders to read more fluently than they would have done without us, and to cypher, with less dexterity it is true, but in more approved methods than those followed in indigenous schools. Here we have dealt in new ideas—the instruments by which history is made, and it requires neither much intelligence to conjecture nor much clearness of vision to see which process is the more effectual.

Our higher education, then, must not be thoughtlessly condemned for its inevitable failings but vigorously extended and improved as that part of our system without which all our exertions in other directions would be mere waste of labour. But when we come a step lower down, we shall find that more radical reforms are necessary. Over and above the men whose knowledge of English is sound and real, and sufficient to bring them into contact with European ideas in their original form, the country is covered with huge legions of smatterers who know just enough to make them very inefficient clerks, while they are quite incapable of intelligently reading an English book. Such knowledge as this may pay in the sense of securing a salary on which a man can live, but it is evidently profitable in no other way. It neither benefits the mind of the man himself, nor tends to extend intelligence among his neighbours, and the time spent in acquiring it would be much better devoted to the study of such subjects as can be taught in the vernacular. There is no reason why history, geography, arithmetic, and geometry should not be as well taught in Bengali as in English, and there can be no doubt that most boys would spend their time much better in acquiring an increased knowledge of these subjects than in stumbling over chaotic collections of fifth-rate English poetry. A certain number of unsuccessful English students there must always be, but our aim should be so far as is possible to enable and induce those who do not aim at going through the University course, or at all events those who are not likely to pass the Entrance examination, to pursue their studies in their mother tongue. This is not an easy thing to do, for a knowledge of English at present pays so much better than anything else, that it is the only thing much in demand. Boys are sent to *patshalas* to qualify themselves for practical works of one kind, and to schools in which English is taught, because they there learn what may secure them profitable employment of another kind, while for vernacular schools of an improved class there is little or no demand. No one wants them, no one will subscribe towards them,

and no one will go to them when they are set on foot; this is the direction in which reform is most needed, and we believe that the University could do much towards it by establishing a system of vernacular examinations to be carried on at the same time with those which now admit boys to the position of Undergraduates. To those who intend to go through the University course, a knowledge of English is indispensable, because without it no sound teaching can be had in the higher subjects, and the Entrance Examination should therefore continue to be conducted as it is at present; but there is no reason why the University should not also lend the weight of its authority, and the *prestige* of its certificates to induce boys to pass vernacular examinations, corresponding more or less to what are known as the middle class examinations of Oxford and Cambridge. Nor is this all that can be done. At present a large proportion of those who study English do so in the hope of entering the service of Government, and as no test has to be satisfied to secure this end, boys hope that however slight their qualifications may be they will succeed in providing for themselves if only they can secure a patron. All this would be changed if ministerial appointments requiring a knowledge of English as well as those of a higher grade, were given away by competitive examinations conducted by the University. A boy who could not come up to the proper standard would know that he had no chance of a Government clerkship, and might be induced to turn his attention to some other occupation. The service of private employers would still remain open; but the servants of Government are so numerous that it would do a good deal towards discouraging smatterers in the way which we have suggested, especially if at the same time all mohurrirships and other appointments requiring a knowledge of the vernacular were given away at the middle class examinations.

So much can easily be done, but a much larger question remains behind—namely, how and to what extent we can reach the mass of the agricultural population. This is the point on which the enthusiastic school of educational reformers lay the principal stress, and it is in this direction that the greatest difficulties meet us whatever our stand-point may be.

But here as elsewhere our way will become much clearer if we get an accurate conception of the facts with which we have to deal. It has already been pointed out that a good deal of the amiable enthusiasm which has lately become prevalent has been caused by a thoughtless confusion of European and Indian notions, and we shall find on going a little deeper into the matter that another great cause of error has been an equally thoughtless assumption that whatever is true of one part of India must therefore be true of the whole.

In the North-West Provinces society is still organised according to the old indigenous type. English administrators have doubtless hardened into laws much which formerly only existed in the form of more or less binding customs, but still society rests on its old basis of village communities holding their lands directly under Government, and cultivating them by the aid of low caste day-labourers. The son lives on as his father lived before him, soldiering being the only trade likely to tempt him from his home. Government is still a landlord, and is as such constantly brought into contact with the people through an elaborate system of subordinate officers whose proceedings are necessarily carried on in the vernacular. There is no large professional class and no special reason why any one should wish to study anything more than the rudiments of reading and writing and experience, which are sufficient to enable a villager to understand and manage his own concerns, while they apparently, include almost all that is really taught in the tehsildaree schools. The department of public instruction having no temptation to devote itself to education of a high class for which there is no demand, has laboured chiefly and with most success among the agricultural population, and though the lowest class of those who actually handle the plough and follow other servile employments, has not been reached at all, there is no doubt that villagers have in very large numbers received some degree of elementary instruction.

In Bengal the conditions of society are widely different, and whether we approve or disapprove of the policy which has created them, it is necessary to consider them before we can form an opinion on any practical plan of action.

In the lower provinces with the exception of Behar, it may almost be said that the old Hindoo village system is extinct. In the eastern frontier provinces it never in historical times existed, but even in the central and western districts very little trace of it can now be found. Government being organized on the *laissez faire* principle, comes little into contact with the mass of the people. It is therefore not tied down to the use of the vernacular, but can carry on its proceedings in the language in which its responsible agents are most absolutely efficient. This in itself is a sufficient reason why English should have been more widely studied in Bengal than elsewhere, and at the same time the Permanent Settlement has enabled the Zemindars to create countless heritable tenures intermediate between themselves and their ryots, and thereby to lay the foundation of a large middle class supported on what, under a system of periodical re-assessment, would have been divided between the zemindar and the State. No one who knows anything of the people of India, can doubt that if settlements were made

permanent in other provinces, putnee talooks or other heritable incumbances, would grow up there as they have here ; but nothing of the sort is actually in existence in the North-West Provinces, and consequently there is no room there for the large middle class which here fills the unprofitable (if, not positively mischievous) part of middle men.

It seems to be generally supposed that our Bengal system of education has taken every man out of his proper place, and led thousands of the low caste population to forsake their ancestral callings and follow literary pursuits. This, however, is a total misconception of the case, as any one may learn who runs his eye down the lists in the University Calendar or looks at the Establishment roll of any large office. A few trades, such as that of the weavers of Eastern Bengal, have been utterly destroyed by European competition, and those who under other circumstances would have followed them, have been largely driven to seek their living as clerks ; but for the most part it will be found that English-speaking Bengalees are either Brahmins or Kayasts—men to whom something like their present position would have been assigned under the old ideal system of Menu. The growth of intelligence has deprived the Brahmin of most of the alms on which in old times he might have lived, while commercial progress, involving the gradual introduction of the system of large capitals and small profits, has left comparatively little room for petty traders except for the purpose of retail distribution. From these and other causes there is in Bengal a large and needy middle class almost unknown in other provinces, and it is in consequence of the requirements of this class that the demand for English education as the most profitable form of literary culture has here been so great.

No one who has ever tried to get a decently qualified English clerk, on a small salary, will be inclined to think that the market has yet become glutted with high class education, but at the same time there seems to be great reason in the arguments of those who think that the time has now come when more can and therefore should be done for vernacular education, and that the village population should no longer be left with no better teacher than a *guru* of the old school. To sacrifice the higher education in the supposed interest of the lower classes, would be simply to undermine the foundation on which alone our whole system can possibly rest ; but there can be little doubt that while in the North-West Provinces the thing most needed at present is the introduction of that higher instruction without which their whole educational system must be an empty bubble, here the direction in which additional effort is most urgently required is the diffusion of light among the agricultural classes. The literary activity which has

already been stimulated will doubtless continue to increase and to acquire a more healthy and self-reliant tone. A channel has been created through which ideas can be admitted, and what we want is to distribute them more widely. This fact, however, is neither new nor the peculiar property of any school of politicians as the enthusiasts of to-day seem to imagine. It has been equally recognized by every successive administration for some years past, and even with respect to its practical application few competent authorities seem to doubt that the attempt to improve the indigenous *patshalas* which has been so successfully made under Baboo Bhodeb Mookerjee, is by far the most hopeful measure which has yet been proposed. Here, as in England, educational reformers should make use of existing materials instead of attempting to build up a grand new edifice, and if we are content to work on patiently at the humble task of supplying the village schools with more instructed *gurus* we are far more likely thereby to secure a really permanent result than we should be by setting up new vernacular schools, to which, when they were established, we should find it difficult to attract scholars. We can improve the instruction offered to those who already want to learn, but it is only very gradually and by the influence of such indirect means as the spread of Bengalee literature that we can hope to make those who now set no value on education become anxious for its benefits.

Something may be done towards securing the co-operation of the people in our reforms by admitting the scholars of *patshalas* to vernacular scholarships, and so to middle class examinations and Government employment ; but the education of a whole nation is a work of such magnitude that we must be content to wait for many generations before it can be in any considerable degree accomplished.

And here the financial difficulty comes in. Village schools on an improved model are expensive, and where is the money to come from ? This is of course a practical question of the first importance, but it is outside the limits of the subject which we have proposed to discuss, and we therefore only insist on the negative condition that unless we desire to undo all that has yet been effected and to make all our future work void and useless, we must not hear of any proposal to sacrifice that higher teaching which alone gives our education its meaning and use. By all means let us extend the fertilising channels far and wide over the thirsty plain, but we must not at the same time render ourselves ridiculous and our labours fruitless by damming up the water of life at the fountain-head.

ART. VIII.—WAHHABIS IN INDIA.

No. III.

AFTER the death of Runjeet Sing, the Punjab was a prey to political convulsions. The successive governments found that they possessed merely the semblance of power, and that the whole authority of the State was vested in the Khalsa army. And ultimately the durbar at Lahore, finding that the only chance of maintaining its political existence was to commit the rebellious troops to a foreign war, declared hostilities with the British government and provoked a contest which ended in the discomfiture of the Sikhs, the partial destruction of the Khalsa army, and the formation of a native government under the control of a resident at Lahore. The last few years of this turbulent period were extremely favorable to the success of a crescentade; and the Wahhabis had every hope of success. They gained possession of Balakote, and were preparing to make a second attack on Mozufferabad when the defection of Zain-ul-abidin with his followers gave a temporary check to the movement. The then three great leaders of the crescentaders were Wilayat Ali, Inayat Ali, and Muksud Ali, all inhabitants of Behar. Inayat Ali was inclined to support Maulavi Qadir; but Muksud Ali declared his intention of abandoning the *jihad* and returning to Bengal, unless the reappearance of Sayyid Ahmad was repudiated, and arrangements were made to carry on the crescentade in the name of some leader whose existence was not open to question. Wilayat Ali was appointed leader, and the war was resumed. A second attack on Mozufferabad was successful, and the Sikhs were driven southwards, closely pursued by the crescentaders, and a large body of the Pathans who, hearing of the victory, had joined them. They attempted to make a stand at Mansera, but were again defeated; and in a short time the Wahhabis firmly established their dominion over a large extent of territory along the left bank of the Indus, stretching from Hurreepore to Kagan, from Sittana to Cashmere. But the destruction of the Khalsa army and the formation of a new Sikh power under the protection of the British Government, rendered it impossible for them to retain possession of their conquests; and, in 1847, the whole body of the crescentaders, with the exception of Mir Aulad Ali who escaped with a few followers to Sittana, surrendered to Mr. Agnew, at Hurreepore. Maulavis Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali were forwarded in custody to their homes in Azimabad, and on their arrival they were bound down in bail of ten thousand rupees not to leave the city of Patna for four years; but no measures were taken to see that the conditions of the bail-bond were adhered to; and after some few months' inactivity they entered into communication with

Mir Aulad Ali at Sittana, and determined on making an effort to regain their lost power in the North-West.

In the beginning of 1850 it was brought to the notice of the magistrate of Rajshahye, that Inayat Ali who had been formerly turned out of the district for preaching sedition had returned and was engaged in enrolling crescentaders. On an enquiry being instituted Inayat Ali absconded and fled to Patna, and an order for his arrest was forwarded to the magistrate of that district. Although Inayat Ali had withdrawn from Rajshahye, his local influence was unimpaired. In a few days the magistrate repented of his decision, and in a proceeding of March 1850, he recorded that as it appeared from the police reports, that Inayat Ali was a harmless individual, his arrest was deemed unnecessary, and directed that the complainant should be forwarded by the local police, apparently with the intention of calling on him to show cause for preferring the charge. A copy of this proceeding was forwarded to the magistrate of Patna; but this officer, more conversant with the designs of the Patna Maulavis than the magistrate of Rajshahye, declined to believe in the harmlessness of Inayat Ali, and again bound him down not to leave Patna in a bond of one thousand rupees. Finding the Bengal authorities were awakened to the nature of his proceedings, Inayat Ali fled to the North-West and, joining the crescentaders, who had assembled at Sittana, assumed the command of the Wahhabi colony as the representative of his elder brother Wilayat Ali. In the end of 1850 Wilayat Ali, with his family and about 80 followers, proceeded to Sittana. He moved his camp by easy marches towards the frontier, and remained a considerable time preaching in each large town on the way. In Delhi, his sermons seem to have attracted considerable attention, and it is said that he preached *jihad* in the presence of the king, and obtained his approbation.

In the same leisurely manner Wilayat Ali moved from Delhi, and arrived in *Sittana* without obstruction from the district officers. In one place only—near Kubbul—was any attempt made by the police to prevent his march to the frontier. The crescentaders escaped, but some of their camels laden with baggage, were seized and forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner at Peshawar, who returned them with an order that they should be given up to their owners.

The ease and security with which Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali, who four years before had been forwarded in custody to Patna, marched through nearly the whole length of India, is a striking commentary on British rule in India. It shows the great gulf between the rulers and the governed;—how little care is taken to know anything of even the most dangerous sects. The war of Sayyid Ahmad, the rebellion at Baraset, the resistance and subsequent surrender of the fanatics at Hurreepore were forgotten as soon as over; and the Government awoke when it was too late to find that

the Patna Maulavis had returned to Sittana to disturb and agitate the minds of the hill tribes !

The arrival of Wilayat Ali, instead of being an accession of strength, was a cause of disunion. He had not imbibed the rancorous feeling towards the British Government which was characteristic of his brother. His religious enthusiasm was not of that wild, fanatical kind which loses all control and spurns worldly prudence as a religious weakness. He had travelled through Central India, the Deccan, Bombay and Sind, and learned to estimate more truly than his brother the power of the British Government, which had scattered the Mahratta horsemen, suppressed the Musulman Pindaries, curbed the Amirs of Sind, and destroyed the Sikhs ; and having satisfied his conscience by fleeing from a Kafir country, he desired to live at peace until the re-appearance of Sayyid Ahmad, or the number of his followers rendered success probable. He urged the impossibility of such a small body of crescentaders, as had assembled, ever conquering India, and pointed out that any premature movement would only open the eyes of the British Government, which if once aroused thoroughly to the nature of their proceedings, would cut off their supplies and prohibit their subjects from supporting the *jihad*. But to Inayat Ali, a narrow-minded fanatic who possessed far less experience than his brother, such a course of conduct appeared an error—a want of faith in religion and the rank of Sayyid Ahmad. The prophet though not of higher rank than the Imam Mehdi, had conquered Arabia with a few followers : what had occurred once might well happen again ; all that was necessary was faith, and the result was certain. Thus he advocated the prosecution of a *jihad* against India, and refused to surrender the command in favour of his recreant brother. The colony was soon thrown into confusion. The Bengallees supported the claims of their *pir* Inayat Ali ; the more numerous Hindustanis sustained the cause of his brother. The quarrel ran high, and the crescentaders who had joined together in order to subjugate India, were about to spend their strength in an intestine war, when the good sense of Wilayat Ali prevailed and procured an amicable settlement of the dispute. Advancing in front of the contending parties he prayed that the Lord would help them in their hour of need and prevent a war of brother against brother. Both friends and enemies affected by his conduct abandoned their weapons, and Inayat Ali perceiving the hopelessness of his cause, abdicated the caliphate in favour of his brother and departed with a few followers to seek a retreat in the territories of the Akhoond of Swat, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship.

After visiting the Akhoond, Inayat Ali settled down in Mudda-hayl a village of Bonair on the banks of the Bonair river, await-

ing an opportunity to carry out his designs. Circumstances favoured him. In a few months Wilayat Ali sickened and died, and the only obstruction to the leadership of the crescentaders was removed. And now the time had arrived when it was necessary for the Wahhabis—British subjects—to decide whether they would live in peace with their rulers, or look upon them as religious enemies whom they felt bound to exterminate. Up to this time it cannot be said that they had taken an actively hostile part against Government without provocation. For several years they had remained inactive in Sind, and although they had joined Dost Muhammad Khan in the Cabul war and fought against us at Ghazni, they had acted under great local pressure. The circumstances too were different. The avowed purpose of the Cabul war was the destruction of the Muhammadan kingdom, and the Wahhabis in attempting to repel the invaders were only assisting their brethren in defending themselves from the unprovoked attack of an infidel power.

According to the traditions of Islam, the Creator is not looked upon as a being who, far removed from the minor cares of individuals, gives forth unalterable decrees ; but rather as a wise tutor, a kind parent, who adapts his teachings to the capacity of his pupils, and assists them in every difficulty. His ordinances have not been given forth once for all but at different times, to suit the different stages of human intelligence, and have been recalled when the necessity for them ceased. Religion is not based on unchangeable decrees wide-spread in their application ; but is considered as gradually advancing under Abraham, Moses and Christ, and attaining perfection in the time of Muhammad the last of the prophets. Up to the time of Muhammad tradition was not very favorable to religious intolerance. The right to repel force by force was foreign to it. The faithful were bound to passive obedience, so long as it was possible with the exercise of their religion ; and it was only when they were constrained to choose between their faith or the world, that they were justified in abandoning their homes, and fleeing into some other country where they could enjoy religious freedom. This was the course pursued by Moses, and afterward adopted in the early days of Islam. When persecution first broke out in Mecca, the early converts fled to the south of Egypt. And this, succeeded as it was by the flight of the prophet to Medina, established as a rule of conduct for the guidance of Muhammadans, that they should abandon any country in which the exercise of their religion is attended with danger to themselves. The idea of promulgating religion by the sword, had not as yet taken possession of Muhammad, for, though he refused a proposal of the tribe of Koreish to worship his God for a year, if he would worship their God for the same space of time, his

refusal was couched in most tolerant language. "Say, O unbelievers, I shall not worship that which ye worship nor will ye worship that which I worship; neither do I worship that which ye worship; neither do ye worship that which I worship. Ye have your religion and I my religion" But as he became more alienated from the people of Mecca, conversion to his tenets was looked on as a more serious political offence, and the converts to avoid punishment abandoned their country and joined the prophet at Medina. By degrees the followers of Muhammad united to form a compact body of men of different nations, united by the common tie of Islam; and his rule extended over all the country in which they dwelt. In proportion as their numbers increased, Muhammad became less tolerant: finally, an inspired command went forth which limited the previous edict of tolerance to four months, after which the followers of Islam were forbidden to hold social intercourse with infidels, and were justified in promulgating their religion by the sword. In accordance with this doctrine Muhammadans, whatever be their country, consider themselves as bound together by religion; and non-believers, however they may differ in creed or national feeling, are looked on as opponents, and the world is divided into the *Dar-ul-Islam* or "country of safety" which comprises all Muhammadan kingdoms, and the *Dar-ul-harb* or "country of enmity," which includes all non-believing nations. The members of each *Dar* may reside in the other without losing their nationality; but in the case of a Musalman living in the *Dar-ul-harb* he must, on pain of being declared an apostate, retain a desire to return to the *Dar-ul-Islam*, as the Muhammadan law does not recognise its followers as permanently subject to a *harbi* or "enemy."

All jurists admit that every country ruled over by a Muhammadan dynasty is part of the *Dar-ul-Islam*; but there is a want of unanimity amongst them as to whether a country such as British India, which at one time formed a portion of the *Dar-ul-Islam*, becomes the *Dar-ul-harb* on its conquest by an infidel power. A decision of this question in favour of the British Government would deprive Musalmans of the right to carry on a *jihad* against it; and an unfavourable decision would tend to disturb the minds of its Musalman subjects, and justify them in supporting a *jihad* although not positively bound to do so unless Government commenced hostilities. But *hijrat* or flight from this country would be a stern duty. The Musalman permanent resident would lose all civil and religious rights, his marriage contract would be dissolved, he would live in sin, and his children would be illegitimate. If our European readers wish to judge of the effect likely to be produced on a bigoted people by such a decision, let them think for

a moment what would be the result if a European people—say the Irish—in addition to political grievances, were to believe that their marriages were unlawful, their children illegitimate, their prayers unavailing so long as they resided in their country under the dominion of England.

According to the doctrines of the Hanfi sect, three conditions are necessary to convert the *Dar-ul-Islam* into the *Dar-ul-harb*:—

1st.—The public exercise of infidel authority and the non-exercise of Moslem authority within it.

2nd.—Annexation to the *Dar-ul-harb* without the interposition of any Moslem city or community.

3rd.—The non-existence in it of a true-believer.

The first condition exists in British India, but neither the second nor third. British India touches on Muhammadan kingdoms towards the North-West, many of its Maulavis have attained a fair reputation for learning and piety, and it is still considered the *Dar-ul-Islam* by the Hanfis. But from the commencement of the Wahhabi movement, the party of Muhammad Ismael, holding that the first condition alone is necessary, preached that India is the *Dar-ul-harb*. They imagined that the position of the Muhammadans under the English is an exact parallel to that of the Israelites in Egypt, and longed for a second Moses. The English are the Pharaohs of the age, and a flight from their territory is as necessary as the Exodus out of Egypt. There is, however, one consolation for the suffering faithful,—the destruction of the British Government is certain; its existence is limited to a hundred years,—a period equal to the time during which the Israelites groaned in bondage. In support of their views the Wahhabis were not backward; forged prophecies and seditious tracts were printed and circulated among their ignorant and credulous brethren:—

“I tell the truth that there will be a King

By the name of Timur, and he will reign thirty years.

Murdan Shah will be his successor;

He shall also reign thirty years in this world.

When he will leave this world,

Abu Sayyid will be the king of men and genii

After him. Omur Shah will be the next ruler.

He will have possession of the throne of Hindustan.

Baber Shah, the king of Cabul,

Will be the next ruler of Hindustan, and Delhi will be his capital

He will be succeeded by Sekunder, who will leave the throne to Ibrahim.

At this time there will be great oppression in the world.

Hoomayun will be raised to the throne.

In his reign the Afghan dynasty will rise.

The founder of this dynasty will invade Hindustan,

Whose name will be Shere Shah.

Hoomayun will fly and go to Iran to the descendants of Muhammad.

There he will be respected very much.

The king of kings (i.e. the King of Iran) will be very kind to him

And will increase his dignity and honour.
 When he will march towards Hindustan to reuistate Hoomayun,
 Shere Shah will die and his son will succeed him.
 Hoomayun will easily get back the throne of Hindustan.
 After him, Akbar Shah will be the next ruler.
 His son Jehangeer will succeed him !
 He will be a great protector of the world.
 When he will leave this world,
 Shah Jehan will reign thirty years or more than that :
 His younger son will succeed him,
 Who will reign more than thirty and less than forty years.
 People will be very much oppressed during his reign,
 And faith will disappear altogether,
 Faith will be lost and falsehood will arise ;
 Friends will be enemies of each other.
 He will reign twenty or thirty years,
 His youngest son will succeed him.
 During his reign faith will be strengthened ;
 The name of this King will be Moozan Shah.
 People will be at rest in his reign,
 And justice will be current in the land.
 He will reign only a few years,
 And his younger son will succeed him !
 Under his protection there will be peace ;
 Miseries will be driven out and happiness will reign :
 He will reign eleven years.
 Then there will be another king ;
 Nadir will invade Hindustan ;
 His sword will cause the massacre of Delhi.
 After this Ahmad Shah will invade,
 And he will destroy the former dynasty.
 After the death of this king,
 The descendants of the former king will be reinstated.
 The Sikhs will grow powerful at this time and commit all sorts of cruelties.
 This will continue for forty years.
 Then the Nazarenes will take the whole of Hindustan ;
 They will reign one hundred years.
 There will be great oppression in this world in their reign,
 For their destruction there will be a king in the West,
 This king will proclaim a war against the Nazarenes,
 And in the war a great many people will be killed.
 The King of the West will be victorious by the force of the sword of *Jihad*.
 And the followers of Christ will be defeated.
 Islamism will prevail forty years.
 Then a faithless tribe will come out of Ispahan,
 To drive out these tyrants, Jesus will come down (from heaven) and the
 expected *Mehdi* will appear.
 All these will occur at the end of the world.
 In (570) five hundred and seventy this ode is composed.
 In (1270) twelve hundred and seventy the King of the West will appear.
 Neamutullah knew the mysteries of God.
 His prophecies will be fulfilled to men."

The following is a fair example of the sermons* preached in
 favour of *hijrat* :—

* Taken from a *Risala Hijrat*, printed in Hindes.

"In the name of God, the merciful and kind God is all goodness. He is the Lord of the Universe. May divine kindness and safety attend Muhammad,—His messenger—and all his descendants and companions. Now you should know that it is incumbent on all Muhammadans to leave a country which is governed by a *Kafir*, in which acting according to the Muhammadan law is forbidden by the ruling power. If they do not abandon it, then in the hour of death when their souls will be separated from their bodies, they will suffer great torments. When the angel of death will come to separate their souls from their bodies, we will ask them the following question :—Was not the kingdom of God sufficiently spacious to enable you to leave your homes and settle in another country ? and saying this he will subject them to great pain in separating their souls from their bodies. Afterwards they will suffer the torments of the grave without intermission, and on the Day of Judgment they will be cast into Hell, where they will suffer eternal punishment. May God forbid that Muhammadans should die in a country ruled over by a *Kafir*. If he dies in such a country his sufferings at the time of death will be great ; afterwards he will undergo the torment of the grave, and his punishment on the day of judgment is beyond comprehension. O Brethren ! death has not yet come. Make your escape now. Go to a country which is governed by Musalmans and live there in the land of the faithful. If you reach it alive, then all the sins you may have committed during your life time will be forgiven. Do not trouble yourself about the means of livelihood. God, who provides for all, will give you your food wherever you may be. Up to the present God has not suffered any person to live in a state of starvation and nakedness. As for you, you are leaving your homes by Divine command, and the Lord has promised you in the *Quran*, great opportunities, advancement, and Divine favour. What do you fear ? The Ruler of Heaven and Earth is always with you ; you will find means of obtaining your daily food in the land you are going to. Do not give it a thought. Go and follow there the trade or profession which you follow here. God provides for all. Let your heart be at ease. He will give you the means of blessing your daily bread in a respectable manner wherever you go. And all your sins will be forgiven. You will live comfortably in this life, and the angel of death will separate your soul from your body without causing pain.* For you the grave will have no

* Muhammadans believe that at the last moment of life, the angel of death takes the soul in his hand, and separates it from the body. If the dying man is a great sinner, the angel tortures him, and he dies a painful lingering death ; if a religious man, the separation is painless, and he dies calmly. This belief has given rise to a custom among many Musalmans

"torment,* the Day of Judgment no terror, and you will be saved from the pains of Hell.

"It is related in the traditions that there was once an Israelite who murdered ninety-nine men unjustly, and afterwards going to a holy man confessed his crimes, and asked him how he could obtain forgiveness. The holy man answered as follows:—'If any person unjustly kills even one man, he will certainly be damned. Your sins will not be forgiven. You will certainly go to Hell.' And hearing this the Israelite said—'I must go to Hell that is certain. I shall therefore kill you in order to make up a hundred murders.' He then killed the holy man, and going to another holy man confessed that he had committed one hundred murders and asked him how he could obtain forgiveness. And was answered by sincere repentance and the performance of *hijrat*. As soon as he heard this he repented of his sins and leaving his country set out for a foreign land. On the way death approached, and both the *angels*, viz., the angel of mercy and the angel of punishment, appeared to separate his soul from his body. The angel of mercy said that he would separate the man's soul from his body, because he had repented of his sins and performed *hijrat*; and the angel of punishment admitted that if he had succeeded in reaching another kingdom the duty of causing the separation would have been partly the right of the angel of mercy; but declared his intention of performing the operation and subjecting the man to great torments (because he was still within his own kingdom) and had not succeeded in completing the *hijrat*. Then both angels measured the land on which the man was lying, and found that one of his feet had crossed the boundary and lay within another kingdom, and the angel of mercy declaring that his right was established, painlessly separated the man's soul from his body, and he (the man) was admitted amongst those favoured by God. You have heard how *hijrat* is rewarded in the next world.' So let you all pray to God for grace to enable you to perform *hijrat*, and perform it quickly, lest you die in a *Kafir* country. If you do, you suffer great afflictions. When death comes repentance is too late. Do now, what you wish to do."

The doctrine of *hijrat* is not peculiar to the religion of Islam, but is common to it and Christianity. The pilgrim, the crusader, who aspired to lay their bones in Jerusalem, the Roman Catholic

of reading Sura *F. S'* of the *Quran* beside any person dying in pain, in order to propitiate the angel of death, and induce him to put an end to his sufferings.

* After death, persons are subjected to a searching examination by two

angels, who visit unsatisfactory answers with severe punishment. So much do Musalmans dread their examination, that they are in the habit of teaching their children the supposed questions and answers.

who desired to spend his last days in Rome, have all been actuated by the same motive,—to pass the closing days of their life in some holy place in which the probability of temptation to sin is diminished. Orthodox Muhammadans looked upon *hijrat* from a somewhat similar stand-point. They were desirous of dying in Mecca or Medina; but they objected to consider it necessary for salvation, and were alarmed at the idea of a heretical sect leading the ignorant multitude to believe that they were in any way supported by the people of Mecca. The following extract from the *Katu-al-Itmam*, written in 1838, by Karamat Ali, a Hanfi, and a Caliph of Sayyid Ahmad, may be considered as containing the most advanced opinions on the subject at that time :—

Now there is another matter which it is necessary to enquire into, and which is of great profit.—“ If any follower of the prophet “ is oppressed by *Mushriks* * or those who deny the unity of God, “ and is unable to carry out the law in the country of unbelievers, he “ seeks refuge in some believing country, especially, Mecca or “ Medina; but if they (the Wahhabis) enter such a country, the inhabitants punish them. Those countries are not like Hindustan in which a person may do what he pleases without cavil, and “ when they will find that the people of those places are opposed to “ them and ready to punish them, then they will seek refuge in some “ unbelieving country, as certain persons have done. † God protect “ us! What kind of an evil sect is this whose followers cannot live “ in the *Dar-al-Islam*, but are tossed about in the country “ of infidels? Then, if any among them ask you—Why do you “ remain in an infidel country? answer, that from seeing the “ customs of *Kafirs* the soul becomes confused, and your sect has “ arisen; that, save in Mecca and Medina, and other cities in the “ *Dar-al-Islam*, one’s glances are not kept in proper bounds; and “ you ask your own hearts, if you, who belong to the sect, are in a “ position to visit those places. There is a difference between you “ and me as regards residence in this country. I am here, but my heart is there; and I desire that God will convey me to the *Dar-al-Islam* or render it such; and I believe that the people of that “ place are good, excellent, strong in faith and firm in the true belief; and you are dissatisfied with their faith, their orders, and “ even some among you call them tyrants, and others say that there “ is no truth to be placed in the people of Mecca or Medina, who “ will give a false decision for ten rupees.”

* A term applied to Christians in India.

† Karamat Ali here refers to the Wahhabis of Fureedpur, Benares,

Sharanpur, &c., who were arrested at Mecca by the Turkish authorities in 1246 Hijra and departed to Bombay.

At a time when pious Hindus determined on visiting Benares or Gya, generally made a final disposition of their property before their departure *hijrat* must have been looked on by the multitude as difficult to perform. Since then the introduction of railways and a freer communication between the chief seaports of India and Arabia have no doubt stimulated the desire to visit Mecca ; but whether it will wholly account for the apparent desire of Mussulmans to abandon India permanently, may be doubted. Shah Abdul Aziz, the greatest Musalman that India has seen for centuries, lived and died at Delhi. His successor Maulavi Isaq performed *hijrat*, and, judging from the spirit of the writings of Maulavi Kootub-ud-din, the present head of the Hanfis, orthodox Musalmans, now-a-days, hold views in regard to *hijrat* which differ very little, if at all, from the doctrine promulgated by Wahhabis, and in comparison to which the views of Karunat Ali are extremely moderate. He says at page 253 of the *Iana Tafasér*, printed at Delhi, in 1867 :—

“The prophet said ‘I am displeased with every one of those Mussulmans who live among *Mushriks*. The companions of the prophet asked him’—‘O Messenger of God, why are you displeased?’ Then the prophet replied, ‘Because it is essential to faith, that *Mushriks* and *Musalmans* should not be able to see each others fires, *i.e.*, it is necessary for a Muhammadan to keep himself at such a distance and so far aloof from a *Kafir*, that they may not be able to see each other’s fire. Living amongst them is out of the question, for it produces weakness in Islam. This weakness is caused by looking at their customs.’

“In short, O brethren ! we ought to weep over our condition, for the messenger of God is displeased with us in consequence of our living in the land of *Kajirs*. But there is hope that those who are destitute of means (to perform *hijrat*) will be excused. When the messenger of God (Muhammad) himself is displeased with us, to whom shall we look for shelter ? Those whom God has supplied with means should resolve on performing *hijrat*, for a great fire is raging here, and if we speak the truth we shall be strangled ; and if we remain silent, injury is done to our faith.”

“From the following verses of the Quran, the imperative way and excellence of and superiority of pious and virtuous actions and also of patience are manifest : ‘Holy God, there are great blessings ;’ and in different passages of the Quran the observance of these things is enjoined, and attention is made of their advantages in the following passages and others :—

“O faithful persons fear God ; and it is necessary that each should see that which he has sent before for the following day ;” and “fear God who is undoubtedly aware of what you are doing.” And he said “He who fears God, him He extricates from

every difficulty and provides with food when it is least expected to be found." And he said: "God has near him and in store for those who observe religion, Paradise, beneath which flows everlasting streams, and in which are pure and virtuous virgins with whom God is satisfied." And "God is a witness of the condition of His creatures." There are many other passages of the Quran in support of the imperativeness and superiority of piety. Some have been mentioned already and other will be found in the following pages."

Maulavi Kotub-ud-din plainly tells his followers accustomed to look on his decisions as infallible, that they must choose one or other of three alternatives—martyrdom *hijrat* or everlasting punishment in the next world, and as if in derision at the perfunctory manner in which Government officers perform their duties as censors of vernacular literature, he tells us at the end of his book, that he has registered it according to law. When such language is used by the chief of the Hanfis in India, we may fairly doubt whether, as far as the British Government is concerned, there is such a difference of opinion between the Hanfis and Wahhabis as we are often assured exists. There are signs to show that the wide gulf which at one time separated these sects has been partly bridged over, and a pamphlet now lies before us in which the writer attempts to show that in reality both sects hold the same doctrines. Nor can we assert that there are no grounds for dissatisfaction. For years the Musalmans of India have been ignored or looked upon as subjects whose allegiance is more than doubtful. Their education has been ignored, and even private donations for the foundation of Muhammadan colleges have been in part devoted to other purposes, and we trust that a wise and liberal policy will succeed the present neglect. But we cannot pursue this subject any further, which has already carried us beyond the limits of an article solely devoted to a history of the Wahhabis, and we leave it with a hope that some of our readers will be induced to sketch for the benefit of the public the different phases which Musulman religious opinion has assumed since British accession, and which, if books printed solely for the perusal of Musulmans are to be relied on, is becoming more intolerant and hostile to Government.

After Inayat Ali became the leader of the crescentaders, he took active measures to carry out his long cherished design of waging war against the English. He called on his Caliphs in Bengal to exert themselves in the good cause and preach the immediate re-appearance, of Sayyid Ahmad. And again the Wahhabi missionaries went forth to fan the flame of discontent and preach sedition, as follows:—

"Those who would prevent others from *hijrat* and *jihad* are in heart hypocrites. Let all know this. In a country where the predominant religion is other than Muhammadan, the religious precepts of Muhammad cannot be enforced. It is incumbent on Musalmans to unite and wage war with *Kafirs*. Those who are unable to partake in the war should depart to the country of Islam. At the present time, in this country, *hijrat* is a stern duty. Truly learned men have written this. Now, he who forbids this, hear faithful, let him declare himself a slave to sensuality. He who, having gone away, returns leaving his conscience in the land of Islam and does not again depart hence, let him know that all his past services are in vain. Should he die without departing hence, he will in the end lose the way of salvation. Examine and know the history of the Maulavis, Moulanas, Peers and *Hadis* of the present age, and ask who among them have gone away from here, and afterwards forgetful of themselves returned, and we enjoy their residence in the land of *Kafirs* and who among them forbade *hijrat* or *jihad*?"

Those persons who were not in a position to abandon this country and join in a *jihad*, were recommended to resist passively and refrain from all intercourse with their *Kafir* rulers, to form as it were a power within the Government, and totally opposed to it. Assistance should not be demanded from the infidels; their courts which decreed interest should be avoided, and all complaints between brother and brother should be decided by the local leaders, according to what these ignorant people considered was the law of Muhammad; for, had not the Lord commanded "and by the Lord, they will not perfectly believe until they make thee judge of their controversies, and shall not afterwards find in their own minds any hardship in what thou shalt determine and shall acquiesce therein with entire submission." •

A short account of the exertions of the Wahhabis of British India in support of Inayat Ali, is given at page 132 of Mr. Raveshaw's report to the Government of Bengal on the sect, which we transcribe:—

"In 1852 a treasonable correspondence was seized by the Punjab authorities, which disclosed an attempt on the part of the Hindustani fanatics in the Hills to tamper with the 4th Regiment of Native Infantry at Rawul Pindie. This conspiracy was found to have originated at Patna, and on the letters seized mention is made of many of the members of the Sadikpore family of Maulavis and of the *Kafilas* of men with arms then proceeding to the frontier. One letter from Peshawar, neither signed nor dated, states that Maulavi Wilayat Ali and Maulavi Inayat Ali, Maulavi Fyaz Ali, Maulavi Yahiya Ali, sons of Maulavi Elahi Bux Saheb of Azeemabad and Maulavi Kurem Ali of Dinapore (a tailor)

were encamped at Sittana in Surat in alliance with Sayyid Akbar Badshah to do battle with Government. This Sayyid Akbar I have before alluded to, as the elected king of the Swat valley. The letter continues—Maulavi Furlut Ali, brother of Maulavi Wilayat Ali at Azeemabad, and Maulavi Ahmad-ullah brother of Maulavi Fyaz Ali and Zahya Ali at their homes and in their villages were collecting money from others and sending arms and supplies. Other letters show that men and arms were passed up from Patna through Meerut and Rawul Pindee, where agents were appointed for their transmission to the frontier for the purpose of *jihad*."

"On the representation of the Punjab Government the Magistrate of Patna made search in the house of Hossein Ali Khan, the *Khansamah* of Maulavi Ahmad-ullah to whom it appeared letters had been directed. As a fact, information was however received through a native doctor or *Hakim*, who arrived from Lahore a couple of days before the Magistrate's search; and the Patna conspirators were put on their guard, and the correspondence in their houses had been destroyed. The Magistrate, however, reports in his letter to Government, dated 10th August 1852, that the Wahhabis sect was then on the increase and that *jihad* was preached in the houses of Maulavi Wilayat Ali and Maulavi Ahmad-ullah, and his father Elahi Bux. The Magistrate reports further that those Wahhabis were in league with the police, and that he could not obtain reliable information as to their movements; but that Maulavi Ahmad-ullah had assembled 600 or 700 armed men in his premises and was prepared to resist any further prosecution of the Magistrate's enquiries and to raise the standard of revolt.

"The subject was laid before Government when Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General on the 20th of August 1852, recorded a Minute to the effect that the fact of treasonable correspondence being carried on between Patna and the frontier was known to Government, and directing that the Patna conspirators should be closely watched."

"Another Minute in Council, dated 7th September 1852, was recorded with reference to a communication from the Punjab authorities respecting this correspondence, and the necessity for hostile operations against the border tribes who were being incited by the Bengalli and Hindustani fanatics. A prosecution ensued, in which Muhammad Wally, regimental Moonshi of the 4th Native Infantry, was tried and convicted at Rawul Pindee on 12th May 1853. The names of Maulavi Ahmad-ullah and other residents of Patna again appeared in the evidence as forwarding supplies to the frontier fanatics."

It is a matter of great regret that the Government did not then pursue a vigorous policy and break up the Patna conspiracy. Sedition would have been suppressed, no soldiers would have been

sacrificed in the Umbeyla campaign, Government officers too would have been spared much labour and unmerited reproach, for Ahmad-ullah, the traitor in arms of 1352, was 'the mere book-man,' the 'Wahhabi gentleman' of 1857.

In the meantime Inayat Ali was not idle in the North-West. He laboured hard to induce the Pathan tribes to support him, and had succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of the Akhoond of Swat and the Sayyids of Sittana, when circumstances brought him prematurely into collision with the British troops. Not far north of Sittana on the right bank of the Indus lies the feudatory of Umb. It is easily accessible from the plains and Sittana, and during the life time of Wilayat Ali, the *Kafilas* of recruits from the plains passed through it to Sittana; but when Inayat Ali attempted to unite the tribes in favour of a *jihad*, the ruler of Umb, Jehandad Khan, declined to assist in the enterprise, and joining with the English refused a passage to the crescentaders. In the beginning of 1852 a *Kafila* of *jihadis* was plundered whilst attempting to force a passage through Umb. They reached Sittana ragged and starved, and Inayat Ali, stung by the insult, summoned to his aid the Akhoond of Swat and the Sittana Sayyids. Among the Wahhabis everything, trivial or important, is done under color of religion. A meeting of Maulavis was held. Jehandad Khan was adjudged a *Kafir*; a *jihad* for his destruction was declared meritorious, and, at the instigation of the Akhoond, who promised to follow with assistance, Inayat Ali moved down from the hills and advancing into Umb took possession of the village of Ashura without opposition. He afterwards crossed the low range of hills lying between Ashura and Umb, drove the followers of Jehandad Khan into the fort, and taking possession of the valley, cut off all communication with the besieged, who perceiving that it was useless to continue the contest, hoisted a Quran as a sign that they desired to treat with the enemy. After some delay Jehandad Khan agreed to become a disciple of Inayat Ali, and hold his territory in fief from him, on condition that the attacking forces should withdraw from the valley; and the Wahhabis returned to Ashura, awaiting the formal fulfilment of the engagement. As a diplomatist the Bengalli was not equal to the Pathan. Jehandad Khan had only feigned submission to gain time. On the first intimation of hostilities he had despatched a messenger to the British authorities for assistance, and now he endeavoured to prolong the negotiations until aid would arrive. He succeeded in amusing the Wahhabis with exercises of one kind or another for two days, and on the morning of the third day, the British troops lined the left bank of the Indus opposite Ashura. They quickly crossed the river and endeavoured to cut the crescentaders off from

their stronghold by taking possession of the pass between Ashura and Sittana, whilst Jehandad Khan moved down from the north and, encamping in the hills on the road to Umb, prevented any movement in that direction. The fanatics seeing their danger fled towards Sittana, and an exciting race took place between them and the British troops to gain possession of the pass. They reached it first, and the main body of the Wahhabis under Inayat Ali succeeded in effecting its escape; but the rear-guard under the command of Kurram Ali of Dinapore, was cut to pieces.

The defeat of the Wahhabis rendered Inayat Ali more cautious, and for years the frontier was undisturbed. He adopted the wiser policy of his brother: he laboured to organise his followers and fire them with a hatred of the English *Kafirs*. The crescentaders even drilled daily, sometimes twice a day, and on parade were taught to recite songs extolling the glories of *jihad* and on Fridays after the *jumma* prayers they listened to sermons descriptive of the joys of paradise, and exhorting them to wait patiently until the time appointed for the subjugation of British India would arrive.

The following is perhaps the oldest and best known song of the Wahhabis. It is named the *Risala Jihad* or "War Song":—

First I glorify God who is beyond all praise: praise his prophet, and I write a song on *jihad*.

Jihad is a war carried on for religion, without any lust of power. In the *Hades* and Quran the glories of a *jihad* are related. I mention a few.

Jihad against *Kafirs* is incumbent on all Musalmans, make provision for it before all things.

On whose feet the dust of a *jihad* falls, he will escape the dangers of Hell. He who fights one moment for God shall have an abode in Heaven.

Hear this, Hadis, the word of the Prophet—"Heaven is under the shadow of the sword."

He who from his heart subscribes one pice in the cause shall hereafter receive seven-hundred fold.

And he who gives and joins in the fight shall receive seven-thousand fold from God.

He who will equip a warrior in this cause of God, shall obtain a martyr's reward.

He who does not assist or join the *jihad* shall suffer grievous punishment in this world.

He who is cut down in a *jihad* dies not; but enters Heaven rejoicing.

Why do you not offer up your life in his cause? God has commanded that all the sons of martyrs shall be forgiven.

They do not dread the trouble of the grave, the last trumpet, the Day of Judgment.

The Lord loves those who stand firm as a wall in the field of battle.

O Musalmans you have now heard the glories of *jihad*, hasten to the battle field, cast aside all thought of your family and property.

Abandon any desire for your property, family and house, march quickly in the way of the Lord; you cannot take your property and family with you to the next world; you cannot escape the punishment of Hell.

If you are fated to return, it will so happen; if you are killed you will go to Heaven.

The faith of Islam is growing weak ; it is giving way to the religion of infidels.

If the ancient Musalman leaders had not carried on a *jihad*, how could the people of Hindustan have been converted to Islam ?

The strength of Islam has always been in the sword ; if they had remained inactive, Islam would have been unknown.

How long will you linger in your homes ? it will profit you nothing, you will repent too late.

Cease to be cowards ; join the Imam,* and smite the *Kafir*.

I gives thanks to God that a great man has been born in the 13th century of the Hijra.

The Musalmans were suffering for a leader, and a leader appeared, born of the family of the prophet.

I relate matters worthy of attention, listen friends.

The time has come to wield the sword.

¶ Maulavi put your books aside, and seizing a sword, hasten to the battle field ; now is time to offer up your life, cease disputing, abandon everything but the sword.

You are a leader, and you should show good example ; if you go, then numerous relatives will follow you.

O Faqirs, teachers of self-denial ; of the various kinds of self-denial ; what is better than *jihad*.

O *Pir Ji* do not lie in the corner like a woman in labour, abandon your *Chila*,† the time for *jihad* has arrived.

O youth, brave as a tiger, strong as Rostum, if not now then when will your bravery be of use ?

Whether you kill or are killed, it will profit you.

If you kill a *Kafir*, you will be successful ; and if you are killed, you will attain the rank of martyrdom.

One day you shall leave the pleasure of this world ; death will take you away.

O friend, since you must die, is it not better to offer up your life in the way of the Lord ?

Thousands go to war and return unharmed ; thousands remain at home and die.

O wise men the hour of death is fixed, why dread it ?

No person dies until death approaches, and when the appointed time comes, no one will escape though he remains at home.

If you dread the troubles of a journey, abandon such fear.

You are a man, do not think of your own comfort.

As man can adopt any habit, so he can abandon habits of ease and luxury.

Do you not see thousands of soldiers, who from worldly consideration leave their home without regret and offer up their lives in battle ?

It is astonishing that you call yourselves Musulmans, and yet act like deceivers in the way of God.

You are absorbed in worldly cares, and have forgotten your Creator in thinking of your wives and children.

How long will you be able to remain at home with your wives and children ?

How long will you be able to escape death ?

If to-day you will willingly offer up your life in the way of God, to-morrow you shall enjoy Heaven.

• If you give up this world for the sake of God, you enjoy the pleasures of Heaven for ever.

* The Imam referred to is Sayyid Ahmad, retiring to a lonely place and spending
† Refers to a custom among *Faqirs* of re- forty days in prayer.

Is it better to suffer the pangs of death at home, or to devote your life in the way of the Lord?

If you do not give up your life in the way of God, you will repent it; how will you show your face to the Prophet?

One thing* you must do, obey the commands of the *Imam* with your heart and soul, or else your wielding the sword will be profitless.

If any self-willed person joins the *jihad*, he shall be liable for the numbers he kills, and his labours go for nothing.

Those who know God and Muhammad well, will implicitly obey the commands of their chief.

This much will suffice for the Musulmans; it is now well to finish by prayers:

O! Creator of heaven and earth, O! Lord, give the Musulmans the power to carry on *jihad*.

Make them very powerful, and fulfil Thy promise of crowning their labours with victory.

Fill the whole of India with *Islam* so that no sound may be heard but "Allah," "Allah."

After the 55th Native Infantry mutinied at Hoti, Murdan, the mutineers fled to the hills, bordering on the Swat valley. The greater portion of them made their way to the Akhoond, who assisted them in attempting to march over the mountains to Cashmere in order to join their brethren in Hindustan. Some few joined Inayat at Mungal Thanna, a strong place on the crest of the Mahatun, about a day's journey west of Sittana. He received them with open arms, but insisted on their conversion to Muhammadanism, and then summoning Mobaruk Sháh the chief of the Sayyids of Sittana who had gone to Swat, he moved down with his whole force, and encamped at Chinghai, a border village, and prepared to invade the Yusufzai country lying within British India.

In the eastern portion of the Yusufzai country, and not far from Chinghai, is the village of Nawakilla, whose inhabitants bear an unenviable reputation among their neighbours. Ignorant and fanatical, and thoroughly imbued with the restless spirit common to all the border people, they were not averse to a change of rulers, and Inayat Ali, cognisant of their good will towards him, sent forward 200 fanatics and 120 horsemen belonging to Mobaruk Sháh, under the command of Afridi Mirza Muhammad Resaldar, to take possession of the village. He remained at Chinghai to see the result. The detachment advanced to Nawakilla and encamped in it and the neighbouring village Sheikjana. Their success was only temporary; they were attacked and utterly routed by a British force from Hoti Murdan, and their leader was captured and hanged. About a month afterwards Inayat Ali with his whole force took possession of Narinji, a border village within British territory. Information of this attack quickly reached Peshawar, and the Deputy

* This refers to the objection Musal- and means that only Musalmans may remain in India.
mans have to pray in an infidel language,

Commissioner, with some troops, moved out to drive the fanatics across the border. An engagement ensued ; but the Wahhabis who had been strongly reinforced by the tribes of Bonair and Swat were too powerful ; a second attack was more successful, the fanatics were driven out with great loss and fled to Chinghai and Bag. The result of these two fights showed Inayat Ali that alone he had no chance of success, and he made every exertion to unite the border tribes against the English. He adopted a conciliatory manner, made large presents to the headmen of the hill tribes, magnified a night attack on the unguarded camp of an Assistant Commissioner who more brave than wise had encamped at Nawakilla, into a victory over the infidels, and distributed the plunder among them. In short he used every means which could appeal to the fanaticism and cupidity of the *Pathans* and urge them to a *jihad*. The mutiny and the exertions of the Commissioner of Patna rendered the machinations of Inayat Ali powerless, and probably averted a border war. The fords across the Indus were jealously guarded, and communication with the Lower Provinces was difficult. His relatives in Patna were in custody and his requisitions for help were answered by declarations of inability to forward any assistance. His funds were soon expended, and he was reduced to dispose of his property at most ruinous prices to obtain supplies. He found his position at Chinghai untenable, and ill and dispirited he set out with his starved followers to join the friendly Sayyids at Sittana, but he never reached them. He died on the journey in the mountains, twelve days before Sittana and Mungal Thanna was burned by a British force.

THE CAPTAIN.

Warriors unhappy ! not for ye the crown,
That wreathes their brows who fell at Trafalgar,
Flushed with the glories of victorious war,
And Nelson's name to sanctify renown.
But, while the great waves felt the Almighty's frown,
Rearing their foam-white crests against the sky,
And tossing their triumphant surge on high,
In their dread depths how horribly gone down !
What though their sorrowing country's love may make
Twin with the *victor*-souls the hearts that *dare*,
Ere the bright eyes that weep, the breasts that ache,
Darkened and frozen by their deep despair,
Shall glow with hope, how many a morn shall break,
On thy gray cliffs, storm-beaten Finisterre !

C. K.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, the Astronomer Poet of Persia, rendered into English verse. Second edition. London : Bernard and Quaritch ; Piccadilly. 1868.

A GREAT service would be rendered to Oriental Literature, were the example given by the translator of Omar Khayyam more generally followed by those whose opportunities, inclination and capacity specially fit them for interpreters of Eastern poetic thought. The author of the present little work has selected such of the stanzas from among those attributed to Omar, as he conceived would best form a connected and intelligible whole, and has turned them into vigorous and generally flowing verse. We cannot, we must own, approve the practice of translating only such portions of a poem as best hit the whim of the translator, leaving others not less deserving to lie hidden and languish in the obscurity of the original tongue. And when such a poem is the only one by which its author is known to fame as a poet, and has moreover the great advantage to a translator of being short, it is the bounden duty of a loyal and faithful expositor diligently to collect all the verses which, after a careful comparison of MSS., may, in his opinion, be justly ascribed to the author he has undertaken to interpret, and give them to the public without reserve. This, Mr. Fitzgerald—such, we believe, is the translator's name—appears to have had unusual opportunities of performing. The Ousley MS. at the Bodleian, judging from its date, is probably the oldest extant, and from the manner of Mr. Fitzgerald's mention of it, we suppose he had access to the copy. It is to be regretted that he has not given it us entire. His English version consists of 110 stanzas. The Bodleian, he tells us, contains 158. We are unable to account for his omission of the remaining 48.

In a foot-note at page x. of his biographical preface, after an enumeration of the different MSS. which have come to his knowledge, he quotes a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, No. 59, to the following effect :—" Since this paper was written, we have met with a copy of a very rare edition printed at Calcutta in 1836. This contains 438 tetrastichs, with an appendix containing 54 others not found in some MSS." The edition in question is in our possession. As to its rarity, we can vouch for many copies of it being procurable in Calcutta ; as to its merits, the famous leg of mutton on which Dr. Johnson dined when travelling from London to Oxford, and which he pronounced as bad as could be, ill-fed, ill-killed, ill-kept and ill-dressed, was not more worthy of condemnation. It is full of errors of type and errors of com-

pilation, errors of commission and omission, errors of grammar, errors of prosody ; it is caked out with numberless repetitions which Omar, in a work of so small a compass, never could have made, and with poetry of the order which

"Non homines, non Dî, non concessere columnæ."

We have carefully compared this with Mr. Fitzgerald's translation, and out of the 438 tetrastichs, there are not twenty which bear any relation of sense or sound to the English version, and of these there are scarcely ten which seem in all four lines to be the originals from which the translation was made ;—the rest have, here and there one line, occasionally two, and, by a rare chance, three lines, possessing some resemblance to the subject of our review. Four other quatrains are given in the body of the preface, one translated by the writer in the *Calcutta Review*, one by Monsieur Nicolas quoted by Mr. Fitzgerald, the other two versified by the latter gentleman. These are to be found entire in the *Calcutta* edition. In the well-known and rather tedious biographies of the poets, entitled the *Natâj-ul Afkâr* and *Atishkudah-i-Azar*, eight tetrastichs are given as a specimen of Omar's style in the former work and 30 in the latter, three only of which are to be found in Mr. Fitzgerald's book. Even the *Review* which Mr. Fitzgerald cites, has many beautiful verses which he has altogether omitted.

To sum up our investigations—after consulting two copies of Omar's poems and his verses cited in the above-mentioned biographies—we have discovered scarce a dozen tetrastichs from which we are enabled to judge of the faithfulness of the translator to his original. This, out of 110 stanzas, is but a slender criterion of his talent, and that we are deprived of the means of forming a better judgment, we must ascribe to our misfortune in not possessing a copy similar to Mr. Fitzgerald's, and to the mutilated and corrupted texts of Omar, who has suffered more in this particular than any author we have met with. If we are permitted, then, in default of better means at our disposal, to hazard an opinion on these few verses regarding Mr. Fitzgerald's power of close translation when fettered by the trammels of metre, we cannot give him our unqualified approbation. Some of the tetrastichs indeed, such as Nos. XX, LXVI and LXX, are as accurate as can be desired ; the rest we take exception to as being improperly rendered. Nor can we impute this in every instance to difference of text, for some of the quatrains are well-known. Take for instance the following, which is among those given in the *Calcutta Review*, and correctly translated :—

"That castle in whose hall King Bahram drained the cup,
There the fox hath brought forth her young, and the lion made his lair ;
Bahram, who his life long seized the deer (gor),
See how the tomb (gor) has seized him to-day."

"Gor," though in one of its meanings signifying an elk, is, more properly speaking, the onager or wild-ass of which Bahram, the sixth king of the Sassanian dynasty, was a mighty hunter. The conceit, which is certainly not a brilliant one, and cannot well be retained in English, has nevertheless a point in the play on the word "gor" which in Persian signifies both a wild-ass and a grave; but if the writer in the *Review* mistook an ass for a deer, Mr. Fitzgerald has given us a lizard for a fox, and has, moreover, altered the meaning of the last two lines; his version is as follows:—

"They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
The Courts where Jamsh'yd gloried and drank deep,
And Bahram—that great Hunter—the Wild-Ass
Stamps o'er his head, but cannot break his Sleep."

We are unable to understand the reason of Mr. Fitzgerald's frequent use of capital letters. He has introduced them plentifully throughout the book, adjective and substantive alike sharing the distinction; but whether by way of ornament, or as standing for the rhetorical figure, prosopopœia, we cannot determine.

Stanza LXI is thus given by the translator:—

"I tell you this—when, started from the goal,
Over the flaming shoulders of the foal
Of Heaven Parwin and Mushtari they flung,
In my predestined Plot of Dust and Soul

LXII.

"The vine had struck a fibre, &c."

The original literally rendered would be:—

On that day when they saddled the courser of the sky,
And adorned it with Jupiter and the Pleiads,
My fate was fixed by the tribunal of destiny;
What fault was it of mine? they decreed my lot.

We are told in the preface that these Rubaiyat are independent stanzas, but Mr. Fitzgerald not having been able to put any sense into the one stanza, cleverly gets out of his difficulties by adding another, and thus betakes himself to ground where we cannot follow him. The above-quoted mysterious quatrain is elucidated by note 24, to which when we turn, we find "Parwin and Mushtari—the Pleiads and Jupiter." We regret to say that what was dark before, remains unilluminated by this explanation. An ordinary reader whose knowledge of Oriental figurative phraseology is drawn from no other sources than the *Arabian Nights*, might guess, from the literal translation we have made, the meaning of Omar to be, that from the time when the sky was created and gemmed with stars, his course of life was pre-ordained, and that the sin of his transgressions should not properly be imputed to him. It would take a Bentley or a Casaubon to detect the same meaning

in Mr. Fitzgerald's version. If translations, whether in prose or poetry, of difficult works are intended, as assuredly their principal aim ought to be, to give readers unacquainted with the original tongues an intelligible and accurate idea of the mode of thought and style of allusion and metaphor of the authors of such works, they should be so interpreted as to convey the meaning clearly, and when this is not always attainable in poetry, for

"Monarchs are less imperative than rhymes,"

the notes should be copious and illustrate thoroughly what is obscure.

Stanza LII furnishes us with another instance of this feeble kind of annotation. The Almighty is spoken of:—

"Whose secret presence through creation's veins,
Running quicksilver-like eludes your pains,
Taking all shapes from Mah to Mahi, and
They change and perish all—but He remains."

We are referred to note 18, which tells us that from Mah to Mahi signifies from fish to moon. We cannot suppose that this information is intended for the learned, and to the unlearned it is worse than useless. The Persian words to the English reader, on the principle of *omne ignotum pro magnifico* might suggest some Oriental allusion of awful and solemn significance—some undefined shape, sublimely Protean, which can be snared into the chains of language only by two of its less unmanageable forms, but this comforting idea is at once dispelled by the too curious enquirer who, referring to the note, is deprived of every means of even conjecturing to what they can allude.

Mr. Fitzgerald has fallen into an error in note 20, which expounds, second line of the following quatrain:—

"The grape that can 'with Logic absolute
The two and seventy jarring sects confute,
The sovereign Alchemist that in a trice
Life's leaden metal into gold transmute."

In this note he tells us "that seventy-two religions are supposed to divide the world, including Islamism, as some think but others not." This is not the case. Among the traditionary sayings of the Prophet, which are regarded by Muhammadans as almost of equal authority with the Qurân, there is the following:—"It will soon come to pass that my religion shall be divided into seventy-three sects, and they shall all be condemned to the flames except the one that follows my way." The seventy-two, therefore, which have the misfortune to be wrong without knowing it, though they profess Islamism, are termed Ahl-ul-Hawa—that is, people that imagine a vain thing. Their's is not the pure orthodoxy of the Ahl-i-Sunnâh wa Jamâât, which is alone to be found in the path trod by the unerring feet of the

Prophet. Discord, which is the concomitant and mark of error, has rent the unity of their agglomeration of false doctrines into six grand divisions which are thus distinguished,—Jabria, Kudria, Rowafiz, Khowarij, Muatala and Mushabbaha; and each is further sub-divided into twelve sects, thus making up the number seventy-two. An analogy might be here drawn between Christianity and Islamism in the difficulty which is equally found by both religions in recognising the notes of the true church. The numberless Christian sects which battle for modes of faith, and by their very contentions belie the Catholicity they claim for their belief, can find for their consolation a parallel in the Muhammadan religion, though the divergence of creed and sectarian jealousy and hatred is far less noticeable among the Moslems than among those who profess to be members of a church founded in peace, and among whose visible signs are charity and brotherly love. And so it comes to pass that each and every one of these many branches of one pious stem challenges as its own peculiar right the exclusive heritage of the truth, and condemns its heretic brethren with Athanasian pitilessness to the tortures of everlasting fire.

One or two more of Mr. Fitzgerald's notes might be cited as tending in no way to elucidate the text, and being of little use as they stand; but what has been adduced is sufficient to show that in this respect better care might have been taken to render the meaning of his author perfectly understood. The object of criticism is not to find fault needlessly, and to point out defects which must necessarily exist in every human composition not inspired. It is easy, with a great deal of malice and a very little judgment, to censure and turn into ridicule writings which should meet with our admiration. The rivetting of the finest armour is not proof against a well-aimed shaft, nor should its workmanship be decried, because it is not as impenetrable as that which issued from the forge of Vulcan. To discover the beauties of an author and to award him the praise due to excellence is as much the duty of the critic as the censure of what he deems reprehensible, and it ought to be his more agreeable task. It is therefore with feelings of pleasure that we turn to notice Mr. Fitzgerald's facility in versification, and the charm and ease of his style which impressed us favourably at first sight, and loses nothing by frequent perusal. Judging, then, from his poem generally, we should pronounce him well-fitted for the task he has undertaken. He is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his author, and there is an elasticity and rhythm in his verses, varied by a dainty melancholy in perfect accord with the music of his master's lyre, whose numbers, though ringing with the burden of wine and song, are tempered by a sadness which finds no echo in the gay recklessness of Anacreon. We have already said that we are unable to trace the originals of the greater number of Mr. Fitzgerald's

stanzas in the copies of Omar Khayyam we have seen, but under the supposition that they have their prototype in that gentleman's possession, and are translated with the accuracy displayed in some of the stanzas we have named, the following selections, taken almost at random, and which possess considerable merit, are presented to our readers as specimens of the happy freedom and elegance of his diction :—

V.

"Tram, indeed, is gone with all his Rose,
And Jamshyd's seven-ringed cup— where, no one knows ;
But still a Ruby gushes from the vine,
And many a Garden by the Water blows."

XXIV.

"I sometimes think that never blows so red
The Rose as where some buried Cæsar bled :
That every Hyacinth the Garden wears,
Dropt in her lap from some once lovely Head.

XXV.

"And this delightful Herb, whose living green
Fledges the River's Lip on which we lean.
Ah, lean upon it lightly ! for who knows
From what once lovely Lip it springs unseen !"

XC.

"And once again there gathered scarce a heard
Whisper among them : as it were the stirred
Ashes of some all but extinguish'd Tongue
Which mine ear kindled into living Word.

XCI.

"Said ~~one~~ among them, Surely not in vain
My substance from the common Earth was ta'en,
That he who subtly wrought me into Shape
Should stamp me back to shapeless Earth again."

XCVIII.

"Ah ! with the Grape my fading life provide,
And wash my body whence the Life has died,
And lay me shrouded in the living Leaf,
By some not unfrequented Garden-side.

XCIX.

"Whither, resorting from the Vernal Heat,
Shall Old Acquaintance Old Acquaintance greet ;
Under the Branch that leans above the Wall
To shed its Blossom over head and feet."

CV.

"Would but the Desert of the Fountain yield
One glimpse, if dimly, yet indeed revealed,
Towards which the fainting Traveller might spring,
As springs the trampled herbage of the field !"

